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ABSTRACT

This document presents the findings of a comprehensive study of community organizations in Greater Cape Town from the 1960s to 1988 and the role of those organizations in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. It is divided into four sections. Section 1 presents background information on community organizations in South Africa, defines the term "voluntary association," and characterizes South Africa's voluntary associations. In section 2, selected South African community organizations are characterized from the following standpoints: membership, leadership, authority, accountability, motivation, and educational practices. Section 3 consists of two case studies. The first is a case study of selected community organizations in Greater Cape Town from the late 1970s to 1984, whereas the second focuses on Cape Town's community organizations from 1985 to 1988. Section 4, which constitutes more than two-thirds of the document, is an extensive table characterizing a total of 362 existing and defunct community organizations in Greater Cape Town. The organizations are listed by the following categories: civics; community work agencies; cultural; education, research, resource, and information; political; student and youth; and women. The following information is provided for each organization: name, life span, aims, main activities, and contacts/addresses. Contains 250 references. (MN)

ED 396 131

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

A STUDY OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN GREATER CAPE TOWN FROM THE 1960S TO 1988

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Mizana Matiwana, Shirley Walters and Zelda Groener

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WHAT IS CACE?

Cace is located within the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. It is involved in the promotion of adult and continuing education which serves the needs of the poor and oppressed both individually and organisationally, with an overall commitment to the attainment of a non-racial democratic society. CACE is committed to achieving this through

- informal, nonformal and formal teaching
- ongoing research
- provision of appropriate resources to adult and community educators

Cover by Tim James, Liz MacKenzie and Zelda Groener

The Struggle for Democracy

A study of community organisations in Greater Cape Town from the 1960's to 1988

■

Mizana Matiwana, Shirley Walters and Zelda Groener

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This is the second edition of this publication. In this edition the survey of community organisations in the Greater Cape Town area is updated from 1985 to 1988. There is also an additional chapter which points to trends and issues for organisations during this period.

Many people have contributed to the research and the production of this publication. We wish to thank very sincerely all those people who gave their time to be interviewed and who filled in and returned questionnaires. The nature of the research and the periods in which the data was being gathered, with the State of Emergency being declared in Cape Town while the research for the First Edition was in progress and it being reinstated each year since then, made the project politically sensitive. Under these circumstances we were very pleased with the level of cooperation which we received from a wide range of people. We wish to acknowledge in particular the contribution of our colleagues Abner Jack and David Abrahams, who assisted with the research at different stages, and Cecilé-Ann Pearce who patiently typed and retyped the survey update.

Mizana Matiwana, Shirley Walters and Zelda Groener
August 1989

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 7

SECTION 1 BACKGROUND TO COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA 9
Definitions of voluntary associations
Voluntary associations in South Africa

SECTION 2 CHARACTERISTICS OF CERTAIN COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS 13
Membership; Leadership; Authority; Accountability;
Motivation; Educational practices

SECTION 3 CASE STUDY ONE: COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN GREATER CAPE TOWN FROM THE LATE 1970'S TO 1984 23
Why did community organisations proliferate in Cape Town at this time?
Why did 'democracy' become an important ideological concept for these organisations and what did it mean?

CASE STUDY TWO: COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN GREATER CAPE TOWN FROM 1985 TO 1988 47

SECTION 4 SURVEY OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN CAPE TOWN FROM THE 1960'S TO 1988 61
Categories of Community Organisations:
Civics
Community work agencies
Cultural
Education, research, resource and information
Political
Student and youth
Women

CONCLUSION 164

INDEX 165

NOTES 182

INTRODUCTION

The Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) was established at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in April 1985. At that time, the first project that was set up was the Community Organisation Research and Education (CORE) Project. This publication is one of the results of the work within the CORE Project. The CORE Project consists of:

1. The ongoing and systematic development and maintenance of a data-base on community organisations in the Greater Cape Town area. (Greater Cape Town extends from Simonstown to Table Bay to Atlantis to Bellville to the fringe of Paarl, Wellington, Stellenbosch, Strand, and Somerset West.) This database includes the collection of pressclippings, pamphlets, posters, booklets, newsletters, occasional papers and academic theses;
2. Research into various aspects of community organisations in order to document historical and contemporary developments;
3. The dissemination of research findings in popular form in order to stimulate reflection on and a deeper understanding of community organisations and the context within which they operate.

The establishment of the CORE Project was driven by a number of considerations. Firstly, in the process of an earlier research project[1], which focused on self-education within community organisations within Cape Town in the early 1980s, the dearth of information on community organisations was apparent. Through the Project we are beginning to fill the gap in our knowledge and to highlight the importance of the area for further research. This publication lays the foundations for future research by presenting in Part Four raw data with limited commentary. It aims to raise more questions than provide answers and should be seen as a 'preface' to future, more substantial work in the field.

A second reason for undertaking the CORE Project was based on the understanding that community organisations, or voluntary associations, are known to 'rise and fall' at times of social crisis within societies. They often proliferate in response to greater ethnic or social consciousness at particular 'moments' in history. The study of community organisations, therefore, provides interesting perspectives on contemporary history. These perspectives have only begun to be explored in South Africa. The information concerning local community organisations is exceedingly sparse. This publication hopes to illustrate the potential historical relevance of a study of community organisations.

The third reason for the CORE Project relates to popular educational rather than academic concerns. As the data in Part Four of this publication testifies, 1985-1988 has seen yet another proliferation of community organisations in response to the 'social crisis'. The project, through educational events and through publications, aims to assist members of community organisations to contextualise and reflect on their work in order to become more effective in the struggle for a nonracial, just and democratic future in South Africa.

The planned sequence of the study is as follows:

- The study begins with background to community organisations in South Africa.

- It then provides an overview of community organisations and their primary characteristics, as described in the literature.
- The third section presents two case studies of community organisations in Cape Town. The first focuses on the early 1980's. Two questions are addressed: why did community organisations proliferate at that particular historical 'moment'? Why did 'democracy' become such an important ideological concept for the emergent organisations and what did it mean? The second focuses on developments within and around community organisations from 1985 1988.
- The final, substantial section presents data on the community organisations that we were able to locate from the 1960's to 1988. The data is presented with very limited commentary. Additional research is required before in depth discussion of the data is possible.

HOW TO USE THIS PUBLICATION

The first edition of this publication has been used by a range of people from academic researchers to students and members of community organisations. Some of the sections may be more interesting to you than others. The first three sections have been written in an academic style. (We have at different times prepared more popular material on similar issues.) We have written the sections so that each can stand on its own. We therefore recommend that you study the index page and then turn to the appropriate section.

Request for your comments, criticisms and ideas

We see this publication as an attempt to present a 'snapshot' of community organisations in the greater Cape Town area during the last twenty-five years. It is a preliminary study. We would welcome additional information and insights which you may be able to offer.

SECTION 1

BACKGROUND TO COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

Community organisations are forms of voluntary associations. In this publication these terms are used interchangeably. In the literature the term 'voluntary associations', 'NGOs' (non-governmental organisations), 'PVOs' (private voluntary organisations) and 'SMOs' (social movement organisations) are some of names used to describe these organisations which form part of civil society.

Gramsci, as elaborated by Simon[2], defined civil society as comprising all the 'so-called private' organisations such as churches, trade unions, political parties, cultural and voluntary associations which are distinct from the processes of production and from the public apparatuses of the state. Gramsci states that:

> all the organisations which make up civil society are the result of a complex network of social practices and social relations, including the struggle between the two fundamental classes, capital and labour.... Thus a capitalist society is composed of three sets of social relations: the relations of production, the basic relation between labour and capital; the coercive relations which characterise the State; and all other social relations which make up civil society.
>
> Civil society is the sphere where capitalists, workers and others engage in political and ideological struggles and where political parties, trade unions, religious bodies and a great variety of other organisations come into existence. It is not only the sphere of class struggles: it is also the sphere of all popular-democratic struggles which arise out of the different ways in which people are grouped together – by sex, race, generation, local community, region, nation and so on. Thus it is in civil society that the struggle for hegemony between the two fundamental classes takes place....

The distinction between civil society and the State should not, according to Gramsci, be understood as being physically divided into separate areas with clearly defined boundaries between the two. It is possible for an organisation to embody relations belonging to both civil society and the State. This point is important for the discussion of voluntary associations in contemporary South Africa. The best illustration of this is to be found in certain of the universities, particularly the UWC. The UWC is a State institution but is also an important site for counter-hegemonic activity. It could thus be seen to embody forms of both civil society and the State.

The community organisations which are the focus of this study, for the most part, form part of the counter-hegemonic movement in Greater Cape Town. The criteria which were used for including organisations in the survey were that they be:

- private, non-governmental community organisations which were not directly subsidised by the State in any way;

- organisations concerned with social and political issues, rather than exclusively with recreation or leisure;
- organisations concerned with informal or nonformal education within their fields of interest.

These criteria were difficult to implement precisely - they were used more as a guide. In certain cases, as with the recent spate of projects within the universities, the complexity of defining 'voluntary associations' and 'civil society' was manifest. We chose to include certain projects recently established in the universities which matched most of the criteria, even though some of them may receive a form of State subsidy.

DEFINITIONS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The definition of a 'voluntary association' is not clearcut. There are numerous definitions in the literature[3] and as Johnson[4] concludes, the definition of a voluntary association turns on four factors:

1. *Method of formation*

The organisation does not owe its existence to statutory authority but consists of a group of people who have come together voluntarily.

2. *Method of government*

The organization is self-governing and decides on its own constitution and its own policy. The members determine the activities, the services to be provided and the methods to be adopted. They are under no legal obligation to provide a service, and they can select their own clients.

3. *Method of finance*

At least some of the organization's money should come from voluntary sources.

4. *Motive*

The organization should be non-profit-making.

It should be noted that these factors are not absolute, and in certain countries like Britain, the relationship between voluntary associations and the statutory authorities is not clearcut. Much of the financing for the voluntary associations in fact often comes from the central or local government. The relationships between voluntary associations and governments vary substantially in different parts of the world.[5] The focus for this study,however, is on voluntary associations which do not obtain any funding from the statutory authorities.

There are various typologies of voluntary associations that have been developed. Morris[6] distinguishes between two broad categories, those organisations whose primary purpose is social service, and those which are concerned with the provision of leisure facilities. Murray[7] elaborates on the social service category by identifying three kinds of organisations in this area. First there are what he calls caring organisations: organisations whose services are provided by one group for another group. Second, there are the pressure groups, some of which combine pressure group activity with the provision of services. Finally there are organisations of the self-help category who concentrate on helping their own membership. He argues that the three kinds of organisations differ significantly in character and purposes. The characteristic relationship in a service-providing organisation is between voluntary or professional worker and the client; the providers and receivers of the service are two distinct groups. The characteristic relationship in the self-help organisation is that between members who share a social, physical or mental disability or who have a problem or need in common; the relationship is one of mutual aid, and there is no sharp distinction between providers and receivers of the services. Pressure groups are primarily concerned with relationships that go beyond the confines of the organisation and its members or clients.

In this study the concern is with 'social service' rather than 'leisure' orientated voluntary associations.[8]

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa social services are supplied by a range of statutory and non-statutory bodies. The voluntary associations which are the focus of this study are not registered as 'welfare organisations' under the National Welfare Act, and they do not obtained any funding from the government. They are usually funded from private, local or international sources, and are not necessarily registered under the Fundraising Act.

There are no laws which directly affect the membership or activities of independent organisations, yet, as Wollheim[9] points out, there are many which affect them indirectly. These include, for example, the Group Areas Act, the Movement of Black Persons Act, and many others which can mobilise the State repressive apparatuses in order to stop organisational activities. Examples of the latter, are the Suppression of Communism Act (renamed the Internal Security Act in 1976, which included within the category of 'communist' any doctrine advocating political, social and economic change by disorderly means. The Act also created the category of 'unlawful organisation' and permitted the banning of persons.[10]

There are very few studies of voluntary associations in South Africa, and more specifically Cape Town.[11] From an analysis of available directories of voluntary associations, which are very limited in their scope and compiled by different sources and at different times, from studying the local community newsletters, the local newspapers i.e. *Muslim News*, *The Herald*, *The Argus*, the *Cape Times*, *Grassroots*, *South* and the *Weekly Mail*, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) *Surveys*, from questionnaires sent out to 165 known voluntary associations in 1985 and 287 in 1988, and from personal interviews with 36 people in 1985 and an additional 20 interviews in 1988 with people who have been active in voluntary associations in Cape Town, it has been possible to compile a preliminary list of voluntary associations which were established in the 1960s up until 1988. This overview of voluntary associations, with some commentary, is presented in Section Four of this publication.

One glaring gap in the information on voluntary associations, is the lack of available data on the organisations in the African townships. It is for this reason that a wider spread of voluntary associations in the African townships of Cape Town is included in Section Four.

Webster[12] has found in Soweto that the working class devises all sorts of strategies to cope with their poverty and oppression. Many people are engaged in informal sector activities such as brewing beer,and hawking food, and they flesh out their inadequate income through small self-help groups, like burial societies and credit societies. Dludla[13] also found in his survey of Nyanga in Cape Town, that a high percentage of people were involved in a range of social institutions which helped to meet their various needs. As he points out 'Even a practice like a bus boycott can become institutionalized'. All these organisations are, as Webster notes, defensive responses by the working class to the crisis in which they find themselves.

Molefe[14] elaborates on some of the problems which they experience in the establishment of 'offensive' type organisations in African areas. Firstly, he believes that 'first level grassroots organisation', which had early in the 1980's proliferated particularly in coloured and Indian areas, are dependent on a degree of skill and expertise which is available to professionals and intellectuals. There are far fewer professionals in African areas, and therefore, he argues, 'we see less of a natural drift towards committees or formal styles of organisation'. His second point is that there is a far lower level of repression in the Indian and coloured areas, than has characterised the African areas. Organisations are therefore less vulnerable elsewhere. The level of repression also forces many Africans to the point of believing that the only viable form of struggle is a military one. This lends itself to recruiting for the liberation army, rather than to recruiting people for 'small scale, relatively reformist community work'. His third point is that the relatively greater degree of material deprivation effects organisational possibilities. There are limited resources for people to draw on, and people who are struggling for survival may find it difficult to concern themselves with political struggles. People who have overcome the struggle for survival have more time and inclination to engage in other struggles. This argument concurs with the literature, which will be discussed later, and which notes the preponderance of the petit bourgeoisie in voluntary associations. It also echoes sentiments expressed by certain trade unionists in relation to their participation in the United Democratic Front (UDF) structures when they were first established in 1983. These will be discussed more fully later.

SECTION 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF CERTAIN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The literature on voluntary associations is very diverse, and is drawn from the fields of political science, public administration, sociology, anthropology, social work and adult education.[15] Each discipline has a particular slant: for example sociologists have traditionally focussed on the relationship between voluntary associations and social stratification; political scientists have shown concern with processes that preserve and enhance pluralist democracy, and this has led to an interest in the way voluntary associations mobilise people for democratic involvement and participation.

There have been few studies of voluntary organisations in their own right.[16] Perhaps there is good reason for this, because voluntary associations rise and fall in response to a range of social impulses. They seem to have more permeable boundaries than other organisations in that they are more directly affected by their environment.[17] In studying the organisations, therefore, it is necessary to focus both on internal micro processes and external macro forces. There are few studies which are able to do full justice to both aspects simultaneously. In this discussion characteristics will be distilled from the literature which describe both internal and external factors which appear to influence the functioning of particularly self-help groups, community development agencies and collectives.

There are a number of recurring discussions in the literature which relate to the functioning of the organisations. They cover leadership, membership, internal democracy, strategies, goals, and accountability. An overview of the main points will be presented briefly.

MEMBERSHIP

Participation in voluntary associations has been the focus of several studies. There seems to be a degree of consensus that the majority of members are 'middle class'. Liebermann and Bond[18] found that the majority of members of feminist consciousness-raising groups in the U.S.A. were predominantly 'white, liberal, educated, upper middle class women'. They found that in several types of self-help groups this segment of the population who 'place high value on growth and change', were well represented. In the study by Rothschild-Whitt[19] of alternative collectivist organisations in the U.S.A., she found that the members tended to come from well-educated, financially privileged families. In a survey of voluntary associations in Britain, the Wolfenden committee found that a higher percentage of middle rather than working class people belonged to voluntary associations. Although the propensity to be involved in more informal, unorganised ways of providing services was found to be much more evenly distributed over different classes. Since the 1960s several researchers have noted an increase in working class involvement in local organisations. Perlman[20] and Gittell[21] both identified a growth of working class organisations out of the social movements of the 1960s. Lovett and Percival[22] noted an increase in working class involvement in community organisation in Northern Ireland after 1968 when political unrest began. There was also a growth in the number of ethnic organisations with the development of black consciousness in Britain and the U.S.A. It appears that at times of social upheaval and greater ethnic consciousness the number and the class composition of voluntary associations does change.

Gittell believes that class differentiation cannot be underestimated as a significant influence on the character, goals and functions of voluntary organisations. Those with working class membership will lack access to the powerful and will lack material resources. One of their primary resources is their potential numerical strength. This is why Piven and Cloward[23] argue that institutionalization of a social movement is itself the cause of the decline in the effectiveness of working class movements. They believe that the very act of creating organisations, channels energy away from issues and political action, and toward organisational maintenance. (This is not unlike the argument which was used by governments in their acceptance of the idea of the need for more voluntary associations the development of organisations will promote stability). Gittell found that middle class organisations had more flexibility in their choice of strategies, and they showed significant differences in organisational characteristics. Perlman[24] notes an increase of organisations in the 1970s where there is an attempt to find issues which will unite low and moderate income people, and people of a different colour. However examples of the internal functioning of organisations which have a substantial number of their members from different social classes were difficult to find.

LEADERSHIP

The theory and practice regarding leadership within voluntary associations provides important insights into their functioning. Butcher[25] states that:

> Many community groups tend to reject traditional assumptions about the value of, or need for, leadership roles and positions. They question traditional beliefs that certain people are likely to be blessed with leadership characteristics while others are not. If any members become designated as leaders, it is assumed then, all should have equal and frequent opportunity to attain such positions.

However in his study of four groups there was continuity and constancy of leadership through different stages of the organisations' development; there was a tendency for those who already had leadership positions in other organisations to become leaders in new bodies.

Voluntary organisations have historically been viewed as training grounds for the development of leadership skills.[26] In middle income communities, a leadership role in a voluntary association has been considered a valuable credential. In lower income communities, voluntary institutions are often the only institutions through which individuals can gain leadership experience. In Gittell's study four leadership patterns emerged:

1. Rotating leadership was generally associated with voluntary organisations where advocacy was used as a strategy. This occurred most frequently in middle income organisations.
2. Externally imposed leadership, for example by a funder or a statutory authority.
3. Staff leadership
4. Constant leadership where the organisation and the leader become one and the same.

She found that the most important characteristics of leaders in lower income organisations were that they were strong, highly visible, charismatic people who were able to dramatise issues to rally support of large numbers of people the basic resource of lower income communities. However this type of leader was not generally interested in spending time developing a tightly administered organisation. Gittell and others have identified a basic contradiction in the needs of leadership between mobilizing people and developing leadership. Perlman[27] says:

> The problem is classic: a strong leader is often one of the key ingredients for a successful organisation; yet often the individuals with sufficient drive and ego to play that role well are incapable of sharing power or delegating responsibility to others.

AUTHORITY

The question of leadership relates directly to that of authority. Does the authority lie with the individuals, with the designated leader, with all the members of the organisation, or with some outside grouping (or doctrine) which could be the funders, the statutory authority, the political party or social class? Rothschild-Whitt[28] in her study of alternative collectivist organisations in the U.S.A., found that the organisations rejected the rational-bureaucratic justifications for authority. Authority resided in the collectivity as a whole rather than with the individual who held authority through a designated position. This notion, she explains, stems from the ancient anarchist ideal of 'no authority'. It is premised on the belief that social order can be achieved without recourse to authority relations. Thus it presupposes the capacity of individuals for self-disciplined, cooperative behaviour. Collectivist organisations routinely emphasise these aspects of human beings. Like Anarchists, their aim is not the transference of power from one official to another, but the abolition of the pyramid in toto: organisation without hierarchy. Liebermann and Borman also found this tendency in self-help groups of various kinds, where the sharing and rotation of leadership was common. They found[29] that the most frequently occurring activities in the groups are 'empathy, mutual affirmation, explanation, sharing, morale building, self-disclosure, positive reinforcement, personal goal setting and catharsis'. Activities which humanistic psychologists like Rogers[30] would applaud as central to the creation of a non-threatening therapeutic, learning environment.

Lovett[31] takes issue with those who reject all authority as being 'at once a delusion and a demand for a kind of total freedom that can only lead ultimately to the law of the jungle, which would hardly benefit the oppressed'. The real question, he believes, is about the derivation of authority.

The debate in the literature about leadership in voluntary associations is captured in the debate around Michels' iron law of oligarchy[32]. Michels' theory was first published in 1911. He examined the trends in political parties and trade unions and came up with the 'law' that 'democracy leads to oligarchy, and necessarily contains an oligarchic nucleus'. By oligarchy in an organisation is meant control thereof by a few officials in the top hierarchy of that organisation. Michels argues that as organisations grow in size they become more complex and start requiring leaders with special expertise to run them. A division of labour becomes necessary and suitably qualified leaders have to take over the running of the organisation. As this happens the rank and file lose control of the organisation. Other factors which he believes reinforces the tendency towards oligarchy are that leaders, whether of proletarian or bourgeois origin, tenaciously cling to office once they have acquired it.

Michels' logic meshes nicely into Weber's notion of charismatic leadership and bureaucratic rationalisation, and his compelling vision has become the foundation for many organisational theorists. However there are numbers of theorists who challenge his deterministic theory, and do not see oligarchy as inevitable. Rothschild-Whitt argues that the value-rational, rather than the instrumentally rational organisations point to different possibilities. Maree[33] in his study of trade unions points out that the historical context, different ideologies, and the capacities of the membership, all influence the oligarchic or democratic tendencies within organisations.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Another related concern within voluntary associations is the question of accountability. This is discussed in divergent ways depending on the democratic theory that informs the study.[34] On one hand accountability in the voluntary sector is compared to that in the statutory social services.[35] Whereas elected officials theoretically are accountable to their electorate, voluntary associations are minimally accountable through, for example, their annual financial audit. They are unrepresentative bodies, therefore, it is argued, that any transfer of responsibility from statutory to voluntary agencies might mean a dimunition of democratic accountabilityand control.[36] There is acknowledgement though that the funder inevitably demands accountability, and in the case of the statutory authorities, funding is not normally forthcoming for 'unpopular causes'.

Some groups who subscribe to the theory of participatory democracy are most concerned with accountability to the members of the collective. Freeman[37] and Liebermann and Borman[38] in their studies showed that the implications of the strong internal accountability within the consciousness-raising groups led to the groups moving away from their initial political objective. They became isolated and were not accountable to the broader women's movement. In order to counter this tendency greater structure was introduced into many of the new groups. This included set topics for discussion, a facilitator for the first few sessions, and a time limit on the life of the group. Women were encouraged to move on to other activities within the movement afterwards.

A third perspective on accountability within voluntary associations, comes from Marxist critics. The works of Cowley[39] who describes the activities of the Camden Community Workshop, and Raboy[40], who is concerned with the struggle for socialism in Montreal, provide useful examples of this approach. Cowley describes the leadership in the Workshop as being essentially non-authoritarian, although there is'no pretense at neutrality'. There is a deliberate effort to develop new forms of collective work, which means that the ways decisions are made, how activities are accomplished, and controlled is of crucial political significance. Both the need for political education of members and for the Workshop to ensure its place as a political collective, are seen as important safeguards against 'slipping into mindless activism'. Cowley acknowledges that the organisers are not collectively responsible to any constituency or public. Therefore the maintenance of internal accountability and self-criticism, which includes all aspect of the work, must be a regular feature. But he believes that it is only 'the placing of politics in command (which) can offset the lack of real accountability'. In addition, the consolidation of links with other groups both locally and nationally, particularly with trade unions, is of overriding importance. In the process, he sees the Workshop becoming more public, more open to criticism, more accountable for its political work. The actual visibility of the work therefore becomes important.

MOTIVATION

In the final part of this discussion, the motivation of members in joining voluntary associations, and the results of their participation in the organisations, will be discussed briefly.

The three major types of incentives which motivate people to belong to an organisation, and which were described by Clark and Wilson[41], are:

1. primarily material, i.e. money and goods
2. solidary, i.e. prestige, respect, friendship
3. purposive, i.e. value fulfilment

Freeman and Rothschild-Whitt both find that in social movements and collectives the major incentive is purposive, the solidary incentive is second, and material incentives are third most important. The organisations tend to generate a high level of moral commitment. In the collectives it is not part of acceptable vocabulary to talk about material gain, so public discussion of such motives are suppressed. The self-exploitation (meagre wages) common in collectives and the justification for it (e.g. autonomy, control, self-expression) are similar to the small entrepreneur. First and foremost, Rothschild-Whitt finds, people come to work in alternative organisations because it offers them substantial control over their work. Collective control means that members can structure both the product of their work and the process in congruence with their ideals. Hence work is purposive in contrast to alienating work. However a paradox emerges within those voluntary organisations who value the collectivist ideals. In order to successfully operate within these organisations members need to be innovative, and require entrepreneurial skills, which are dependent on a certain amount of independent, creative individualism. Strong survival skills may also be necessary in an often hostile environment. These attributes may at times conflict with the values implicit within collectivist democracy which require high degrees of either internal or external accountability, or both, from the members.

Perlman[42] points out that in community development agencies, money is a motivating factor, as well as power, prestige and the desire for change. She found that the directors and top staff are quite well paid, and there is often a degree of competition for the available jobs, which are viewed as channels for upward mobility. One of the problems is that the agencies depend on voluntary support in their programmes from people in their locality, who are poor. This can lead to the feeling that some are 'making good' off the hardship of the poor. However she believes there is no easy answer, as 'one cannot ask well-trained minority professionals to work for low salaries....'

In another recent paper Perlman[43] addresses the question of motivation amongst rank and file members of a community action organisation. She found a complexity of beliefs and behaviours which she related to Maslow's work on the hierarchy of needs.[44] Members expressed their motivations as being anger (a sense of injustice), loneliness (a quest for community), impotence/ignorance (a search for understanding, information and increased control), and lack of dignity/self-confidence (need to feel useful). Each of these forces was expressed to some degree by every person interviewed but the emphasis ranged widely. Perlman entitled her paper 'Seven voices from one organisation', and it demonstrates graphically the competing and sometimes conflicting needs and assumptions amongst rank and file members.

The effect of participation within voluntary associations on the membership, and the need to develop ways to enhance the capabilities of members to participate more effectively, has been the subject of a wide range of writers. Gittell provides a very useful summary of the research findings on participation which show that people who do participate in an organisation are more likely to be active politically, to know more about what is going on, to feel more effective, and to be happier (the meaning of which is undefined).[45] Most of the literature suggests the importance of citizen participation in voluntary associations as a means for encouraging adoption of innovation and changes in self-image. It also confirms the research results in studies of voluntary organisations which suggest that crisis situations will encourage the growth of opposition organisations and increase their effectiveness. (This again emphasises the importance of the external context to the internal functioning of the organisations.)

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

The ways in which voluntary organisations do, or ought to, encouragethe participation of members so that leadership qualities are developed, has been the focus of little systematic study. This is suprising as the development of leadership has been seen as one of the important functions of voluntary associations. (This area is elaborated in the previously mentioned study: see note 1.) At this point certain practices, as described in the literature, will be discussed briefly.

A central argument, which is based on the assumptions imbedded in the theory of participatory democracy i.e. that the solution to the problem of developing the capacity of participants lies in the democratic method itself, is put forward by several researchers.[46] Rothschild-Whitt argues that where people do not have participatory habits, it is because they generally have not been allowed any substantive control over important decisions. While acknowledging that her evidence is not yet conclusive, much of it, she believes, does indicate that the practice of democracy itself develops the capacity for democratic behaviour amongst its participants. Other social scientists like Argyris[47], remain unconvinced that participation can produce change in people's behaviour.

Amongst those who believe in the beneficial results of participation, there appears to be little discussion as to the form of participation which is required in order to achieve the necessary results. Perlman[48] following on from her discussion on motivation of members, believes that all four motivational needs would need to be addressed by the organisation. She states[49]:

Dignity is gained, or regained, through many aspects of the citizen action process, but particularly through 1) actions which de-mystify the authorities, and provide the sweet taste of power, and 2) internal participatory democracy which gives every member a chance to be heard, a chance to make mistakes (and to learn from these without humiliation) and to disagree with others (and to resolve these differences without rancor).

She points out, however, that there is an inherent conflict between action and participatory democracy. (This we saw previously in discussions on the consciousness-raising groups). Since she has postulated that both are necessary in the organisation, a real paradox emerges. She quotes Oppenheimer:

> A paradox exists between the democratic content of a group and the progress of the group towards a measure of power in the community. Too much discussion we stop moving; too little and we are no longer what we were. To achieve a goal we need unity but to achieve unity it is sometimes necessary to compromise,to gloss over some important issues...which shall it be?

In order to change the consciousness of the members and to attain their full participation in the organisation, Perlman postulates that there are three decisive factors: action, interpretation and internalization. By action, she means that if a group does not engage in some activity or confrontation that challenges the normal course of things, they generate no new data for re-interpretation. By reinterpretation she means two things. First, how much attention the organisational style gives to learning from both failures and victories,to open discussion and analysis before and after actions, and to ongoing leadership development. Second, how well the leaders are able to interpret and explain to the membership the connections between what they saw happen and why. Making the victory is only part of the challenge, giving it meaning is equally important. Finally, internalization is used to mean the process by which the lessons learned from action and interpretation are incorporated into daily operating assumptions and reinforced in people's homes or neighbourhoods among trusted friends and relatives. In summary her hypothesis is that a change in consciousness will occur in active groups which have indigenous leadership with some degree of ideological clarity, and a process of internal discussion within the organisation, and a high degree of solidarity and friendship with some members of the organisation.

An interesting observation that Perlman makes, is that as new insights have been gained regarding the issue of 'meaning' and consciousness, new approaches are evolving in some working class organisations which are 'value-based' rather than 'issue-based'. This is similar to developments in the more middle class political collectives which have been discussed. People feel concerned about the loss of traditional guidelines, culture, and values in their lives and are as able to talk about this as they are to complain about the garbage on the street. She points to some groups which are adapting Freire's methods of dialogue and consciousness raising to their own styles of organising. They work to reinforce ties of culture, trust, and community, within the groups rather than in the Alinsky mode which focuses on 'the enemy' out there.

The postulates made by Perlman are integral to the characteristics of the 'empowering process', which is the focus of Kindervatter's[50] study. After reviewing the literature in the fields of self-management, education for justice, community organising and participatory approaches, she compiled a list of common characteristics which appeared to be central to the empowering process. She defined 'empowering' as: people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society. An 'empowering process' is the means to bring about such understanding and control. In her research she was concerned with the role of the outside facilitator in the empowering process.

The eight characteristics she presents as guidelines for the nonformal educational approach to empowering. They include:

1. Small group structure (emphasis on small group activity and autonomy).
2. Transfer of responsibility to participants from the facilitator.
3. Participant leadership in decision-making over all aspects of the organisation.
4. Outside agent as facilitator who supports the people in doing things themselves.
5. Democratic and non-hierarchical relationships and processes. Roles and responsibilities are shared.
6. Integration of reflection and action. Analysis moves to collaborative efforts to promote change e.g. problem-solving, planning, skills development, and confrontation skills.
7. Methods that encourage self-reliance e.g. peer learning, support networks.
8. Improvement of social, economic, and/or political standing results from the process.

From the above, it appears that both Kindervatter and Perlman see the process of organising within voluntary associations as a central factor in the development of the capacity of members to participate fully in the organisations. Involvement in the planning, execution and reflection on the activities are seen as important learning processes. In addition they argue that the climate needs to be supportive of members who are ignorant or who disagree. Confrontation plays a part in the learning process, as does the learning of organisational skills. Both Kindervatter and Perlman insist on the need for action and critical reflection which will include an analysis and an interpretation of the action. Perlman points to the importance of the leaders who are needed to help give meaning to the action. Kindervatter describes the facilitator as acting in a supportive rather than a leadership role. Perlman postulates that the action, if it is to raise the political consciousness of the participants, must challenge the 'normal course of things', otherwise there is no new data generated for reinterpretation. Kindervatter is less specific about the kind of action that is required for 'empowering' to occur.

A third educational strategy which has relevance for this discussion, is that which has become known as Learning by Participation (LBP). It has been developed in relation to work and community experience for scholars, and is elaborated in a recent study by the International Movements Towards Educational Change.[51] They define LBP as:

> an integrative process that includes participation in society, critical reflection on that participation, and the relation of experiences to theoretical knowledge, while maximizing the participation of learners in decision-making affecting both the programme as a whole and their individual activities in the programme.

While LBP has been conceptualised as a method of learning for scholars in community and work experience programmes, where theory and practice are linked, it has much in common with the educational strategies which are described by Perlman and Kindervatter. LBP consists of participation in action, critical reflection on that action, and the relating of the practical experience and reflections on that experience to theoretical knowledge. It also insists on the participation of the people involved in the planning, execution and the evaluation of the programmes. All four components are similar to those described by Perlman and Kindervatter. The major difference between the LBP, as described by IMTEC and the proposed educational strategy of Perlman, is the definition of the action component. Perlman insists on political action which will challenge the status quo. Her goal is the raising of the political consciousness of participants. (She does not however elaborate on her meaning of 'political consciousness'). IMTEC is not concerned particularly with political consciousness raising, but with students being afforded the opportunity to exercise 'real responsibility'.

From the above discussions on the educational strategies of Perlman, Kindervatter and LBP, four components which are part of an integrative organisational process, have been identified. They are: action, critical reflection, theoretical knowledge and participation in decision-making at all levels. All three educational theorists insist on participatory democratic organisational processes. Perlman whose explicit goal is the raising of political consciousness amongst participants, argues that the type of action that participants engage in is important; it should challenge the status quo. The form this should take Perlman however does not define. Kindervatter and LBP seem less concerned with challenging the political and economic status quo, as with the extension of responsibility to the participants for the running of the programmes. Kindervatter seems to see the extension of responsibility in the micro situation as the first step towards a greater say for participants in other institutions in the society.

SECTION

3

CASE STUDY ONE

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN CAPE TOWN FROM THE LATE 1970'S TO 1984

Introduction

There was a proliferation of independent community organisations during the late 1970's and early 1980's throughout the country. They were mainly sponsored financially by private enterprise, private foundations or by church bodies.[52] In the first part of the case study the political, economic and ideological developments which appear to have influenced the growth of the new community organisations at this time, will be explored briefly. While there is not necessarily a direct causal relationship between the macro developments and the establishment of a particular organisation, an historical perspective of this kind gives a general background to the growth of the community organisations at this time. Only through detailed and specific case histories of organisations would we be in a position to state with any certainty what the relationships were between macro contextual events and the formation of organisations.

In the second part of the case study questions will be posed concerning the forms that community organisations took during this period. It will be argued that the 'democratic commitments', which are a feature of these organisations, seemed to be influenced by a number of historical occurrences within South Africa in general and the Western Cape in particular. The memberships' commitment to 'democracy' seems to have influenced both the theory and the practice within the organisations. In this section we will speculate as to why 'democracy' became such a powerful ideological concept at that time. It will be argued that both the formation and the form that organisations take are, to some degree, determined by both the external social conditions and by the specific people who are involved. A more detailed analysis of what 'democratic' practice meant within certain of these organisations has been done elsewhere and will not form part of this study.

It is hoped that this case study will succeed in both illustrating the theory which was explored earlier and will provide background to organisations which have developed in Cape Town since the mid 1970's and which are listed in Section Four.

WHY DID NEW VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS PROLIFERATE IN CAPE TOWN IN THE LATE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s?

Historical context

During the 1960's, the South African economy had expanded more rapidly than that of any other capitalist country, except Japan, averaging an annual growth rate of between six and eight percent. This boom gave way to a deepening recession in the early 1970's. By 1978, the country was facing the worst economic crisis in its history. The climate of insecurity was accentuated by external political developments. With the massive rise in the oil price in 1973, the relative importance of African oil producers as trading partners to Western industrial countries grew and South Africa's correspondingly diminished. More immediately, South Africa's immunity from guerilla insurgencies was substantially reduced with the collapse in 1974 of Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola and Mocambique, and the establishment of Marxist governments there. By the mid-1970's, confronted both with an international recession and growing industrial, political and economic instability within South Africa, the foreign capital which had sustained the growth of the 1960's began to dry up. By 1976, it was estimated that African unemployment stood at 2,3 million workers and at the same time there was talk of a severe shortage of skilled manpower.[53]

In response to the economic and political situation in the early 1970's, there was a re-emergence of working class and mass political movements. These movements had been quiescent since 1963 when they were brutally suppressed by the state. The re-emergence of the independent black trade union movement and the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) marked the resurgence of mass resistance to the State.

From January 1973 to mid 1976, over 200 000 black workers struck work in South Africa. This was the most extensive strike wave since the early days of World War II and affected most of the main centres. The strikes started in Durban and from there an African trade union movement came to life once more. It had its nucleus in worker advisory organisations founded mainly by radical, university students. This generation of African unions avoided any political orientation and constituted themselves from the bottom up, factory by factory. This was in contrast to the broad industrial mass movement approach adopted by the Council for Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in the 1940's and 1950's. There was a strong emphasis on worker control in the worker organisations.[54]

The BCM gained its impetus from the students on the newly established black university campuses.[55] The South African Students' Organization (SASO) was launched in 1969 to mobilise students, while the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the Black Community Programmes (BCP) were established to work in the broader community. The BCM's primary aim was to liberate blacks from psychological oppression. It was concerned to develop and promote black theology, black communalism, black community business enterprise, and a rejection of apartheid institutions. During 1972 to 1977, there was a proliferation of organisations in South Africa which were related to the BCM. They were concerned with literacy, health, building schools, clinics and community centres, home education schemes, cooperative bulk buying, the establishment of factories and boutiques, and the promotion of black theatre. There was an upsurge in black drama, poetry and art which all helped to generate the aggressive atmosphere that was witnessed at the trials of the BCM groups.[56]

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town had a strong SASO following and during this time increasing numbers of students were becoming involved in off-campus activities. They saw as important the raising of political consciousness of the black community and their mobilisation. In 1973 they boycotted classes as a response to conditions on campus and increasing harassment from security police. During the early 1970's, a new tradition of student politics was developing which included active organisation on and off the campus. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was also involved off campus. Through the Wages Commissions they were active in the promotion of the new black trade union movement, and through the Communities Commission (ComCom) they were active in community work. NUSAS had moved away from its previous strategy of protest politics to involvement with the oppressed communities.[57]

In 1976 the South African state was rocked by massive uprisings which started in Soweto but spread to all the main centres.[58] Started by school pupils, soon several sections of the black communities were involved. There was widespread support from organisations and workers as the response to the call for a general strike indicated. The politicising effect of these times on the community was apparent as resistance spread throughout the country. The African National Congress (ANC), banned in 1960, re-emerged as the political group with probably the greatest degree of popular support within the townships.[59] Students and activists turned increasingly to the study of the history of resistance in South Africa and to Marxist literature in order to understand the present and the future.[60] This latter development was similar to certain of their counterparts in Western Europe and North America.

Capital and the State's responses to the political and economic crises had direct consequences for community organisations. All the economic organisations of the capitalist class, except for organised agriculture, were united in agreement over the need for significant reforms in economic and political policy.[61] There was broad agreement over the nature of the desired reforms which included the improving of the legal and economic security of township residents through ameliorating influx control, improving wages and job opportunities, providing more and better housing with land ownership rights and encouraging the development of a black middle class. Employers' organisations were also united on the need for some kind of State recognition and control of organisations of collective bargaining for African workers. In the aftermath of 1976, the most overriding concern for capital was the need to secure immediate domestic stability. Particular emphasis was placed on the position of the newly discovered 'urban African' and 'black middle class'. A whole host of business-funded organisations sprang up to 'deal' with the problem. The most important of these was the Urban Foundation, jointly established and financed by many of the major corporations in South Africa. Big business through these organisations began to press for reform. Some of the new community organisations which emerged at this time became dependent to some degree on funding from these business initiatives. This created divisions between organisations particularly in Cape Town between those who would and those who refused money from these sources.[62]

The Government, which was subject to conflicting pressures from the white population, adopted both cautious reforms (for example the policy of limited accommodation of African trade unions) and continuing repression. The latter included widespread detentions of people and the banning of organisations. In late 1977, nineteen organisations which included most of the remaining BCM organisations, the Christian Institute and the newspaper The World, were banned, and one of the founders of the BCM, Steve Biko, died while in detention. In 1977 the government also introduced three social welfare bills which were enacted in 1978. These gave the government wide powers for the control of welfare services (welfare being defined very broadly). The most contentious of the three Acts was the Fundraising Act. The Social Welfare legislation required registration for fundraising purposes, and they entrenched the principles of separate development.[63] These Acts affected all community organisations.

By 1977, people who had been actively involved in community struggles, either through the BCM, the 1976 uprisings or worker organisations, began reflecting critically on their part in those events and activities.[64] Critiques of the BCM strategies were being developed. In 1976, theorists like Legassik and Wolpe[62] who were exiled academics linked to the South African liberation struggle, were arguing that 'class' not 'race' was the central issue in coming to understand the dynamics of State policy in South Africa. This was followed by theorists like Saul and Gelb who argued that both 'class' and 'race' were critically important.[66] They emphasised Gramsci's argument concerning the importance of ideology as an element in the ruling class maintenance of hegemony. At this time, with the re-emergence of the ANC as a political force, the theory of a non-racial national democratic struggle began to find favour with many activists, and a start was made to rebuild a national democratic opposition movement which could unite and mobilise people regardless of race or class.[67] On the white university campuses, NUSAS began to adopt a more inward looking policy which stressed the importance of self-education. White students had begun to feel increasingly redundant in oppressed communities and had withdrawn to work on campus. In 1978, the NUSAS theme was 'Education for an African future' and the aim was to encourage white students to re-define a role for themselves in a future non-racial, democratic South Africa. On some of the white university campuses at that time, a nascent women's movement was also emerging. This was strongly influenced by the International Women's Movement.[68]

By 1980, a more clearly identifiable 'national democratic movement' was beginning to form. In Cape Town during 1980 there were widespread school and consumer boycotts which had mobilised thousands of school pupils, university students, parents, commuters and workers. Through these actions, the need for ongoing mass-based organisations was identified and new organisations were established including Grassroots Community Newsletter, United Women's Organisation (UWO), Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) and numerous youth organisations. They supported a 'non-racial, national and democratic struggle' as did other organisations like NUSAS. 'Democracy' became one of the unifying concepts within this network of organisations which included locally based independent trade unions. These worker and community organisations will be discussed in the more detail in the following section.

In summary

The reasons for the proliferation of organisations in South Africa, and Cape Town in particular, appear to concur with the findings in the literature which was discussed earlier and which states that the number of voluntary associations increases rapidly at times of social upheaval and/or increased ethnic or group consciousness. The membership and orientation of the organisations will depend on many factors such as social class, local conditions and experiences. In the next part we will address the questions concerning ideology and forms of organisations.

WHY DID DEMOCRACY BECOME AN IMPORTANT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT FOR THE NEW VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND WHAT DID IT MEAN?

Introduction

Voluntary associations, we have seen, proliferate at times of social crisis or greater ethnic or group consciousness. The form that organisations take are also, to some degree, influenced by the external conditions. Traditionally in the literature on voluntary associations there has been a tendency to concentrate on the micro processes within organisations and to study these processes in isolation from the broader context. This study is purposefully highlighting the importance of the macro conditions. The danger may be that this emphasis is interpreted as a denial of the 'human factor' and its importance within organisations. This is not the intention.

Amongst the new organisations of the late 1970's the concept of 'democracy' became an important concept. Even a cursory glance at the publications eminating from these organisations at the time would illustrate the point very convincingly. While it is true that 'democracy' is important for most members of voluntary associations in western countries, the particular meanings given to the concept and the great importance attached to the concept by the organisations in Cape Town, it will be argued, resulted from certain prevailing conditions at the time.

'Democracy' has been described as a negotiated and contested ideological concept which has a wide range of meaning. Therborn[69] has said that ideologies are ongoing social processes which 'unceasingly constitute and reconstitute themselves'. Therefore we can anticipate that democracy amongst the worker and community organisations has had a range of contested meanings, which are continuously being challenged and changed. The 'commonsense' understandings of democracy amongst the members of organisations it is reasonable to assume, have been forged by a range of diverse and often contradictory forces.

It is not possible to answer in absolute terms the very complex question as to why democracy became so important for the new organisations. But it is possible to offer certain postulates which have been distilled from a study of local literature[70], from interviews with twelve activists [71] and from personal involvement as a member of three of these organisations, and as a consultant/facilitator to another six. These postulates are not all encompassing. They attempt to capture what seem the most important influences.

The following postulates will be explored in an attempt to address the question:

- The emergence of the independent trade union movement which called for the implementation of workers'democracy, contributed to the creation of the climate in which community organisations were developing.

- The growth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), with the concomitant development of liberation theology and new approaches in certain churches, helped promote radical humanist values, which in turn encouraged particular attitudes within organisations.

- The re emergence of the African National Congress as an important force within the country after 1976, encouraged the adoption of popular-democratic rhetoric and strategies by the members of organisations.

- The community struggles on the ground provided activists within organisations with experiences and lessons which influenced how they functioned. Important examples of these struggles are the 1976 student riots, the 'squatter' struggles, the Fattis and Monis consumer boycott in 1979, the 1980 school and consumer boycotts, the anti-South African Indian Council (anti-SAIC) campaign, and the Disorderly Bill Action Committee (DBAC) in 1982.
- In 1983 the development of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF), with Cape Action League (CAL) locally, created different conditions within which organisations functioned.

In attempting to answer the question 'why did democracy become such an important concept for organisations' background will be given which may also throw light on the many questions which will be raised as a result of the data presented in the Section Four.

The reemergence of the independent trade union movement

In Cape Town the reemergence of the independent trade union movement,particularly in the form of the Western Province General Workers Union (later to become the General Workers Union), and the SACTU-affiliated (A)Food and Canning Workers Unions[72], made an impact on the working class and mass struggles from the late 1970s. Cape Town had been dominated, up until that time, by the conservative,registered unions, which were primarily concerned with the organisation of skilled and semi-skilled workers.The Cape Town Municipal Workers Association (CTMWA), which had some historic links with the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), was one of the few to have a dominance of semi-skilled and unskilled worker members.[73]

The reemergence of the independent trade union movement, has highlighted certain issues for activists in both worker and community organisation. These issues include: the relationship between politics and economics; the development of working class leadership; and participation or non-participation in State structures. These issues have, and are still, being hotly debated within the local community, worker and academic publications.[74]

A useful overview of the theoretical debate concerning the relationship between politics and economics is given by Hemson[75], and will not be elaborated here. What is more pertinent is a discussion of the practical manifestations of the debate and its implications for organisations. These have been found in the questions surrounding consumer boycotts[76], work stay-aways[77], and affiliation to more overtly, political organisations, like the United Democratic Front (UDF).[78]

Within Cape Town, the consumer boycott in 1979 of Fattis and Monis products[79], and the red meat boycott of 1980[80], opened up new possibilities for linkages between workplace and community struggles. They also produced several lessons for both community organisations and trade unions. Analyses of the meat boycott illustrate these well; these will be discussed briefly.[81]

The workers at the Table Bay Cold Storage went on strike for a democratically elected non-racial workers' committee. The workers at other meat factories also came out on strike. At that time there was a high level of activity in Cape Town, where the school boycott had been in progress for two months, and a bus boycott was being mooted. A support committee for the meat workers was set up of members of community organisations and the WPGWU. There were two ways in which the community organisations supported the strike: firstly by collecting over R100 000to support the 800 striking workers, and secondly, they organised a boycott of red meat. While the strike did not achieve its specific goal, it has been hailed by all parties as an important event, which led up to discussions by representatives from community organisations and trade unions on how workers and community organisations could cooperate. The critical analyses of the event highlighted aspects of democratic organisation.

A major criticism centred around the position of the support committee. The WPGWU had attempted to keep control of the committee, so that workers would not lose the leadership of the struggle to petit bourgeois members of community organisations. However once the government had banned all meetings in June 1980, and had detained several of the trade unionists, communications between the union and the broader community broke down. This left the way open for those whom the trade union described as 'opportunists' from certain community organisations to take control, and to call off the boycott without consultation with either workers or the support committee[82]. It seems that both the WPGWU and community activists diagnosed the problem as 'a lack of democracy' within the support committee. They believed that the committee needed to have been more autonomous[83]:

> ...we have also learnt the importance of the community participating fully, and making decisions about their support. This means that the community, as well as the union, must be able to control their own activities in a democratic manner. In short, then there are two lessons: Firstly unity in the struggle, secondly democracy in the struggle. Only democracy will prevent those inside the community who try to break our unity, from succeeding.

Another lesson for community organisations came through the pages of the *South African Labour Bulletin* (*SALB*) which publically admonished the two organisations which they believed had behaved undemocratically and not in the interests of the workers. This public criticism had far reaching implications for the people and organisations involved. On one level their credibility as community workers was called into question, and secondly, according to the director of one of the organisations, their funding was put in jeopardy because of the negative publicity.[84]

Both the GWU and the (A)FCWUs were actively promoting workers' democracy within the factories and in the unions[85].By 1980 both unions had been involved in important labour disputes out of which grew new strategies for working class action.[86]Both saw the struggle for democracy within the workplace and in the unions as integral to the struggle for democracy in the society. The development of working class leadership through their involvement in the trade union movement, was seen as crucial for the development of working class leadership more generally.[87] However, through the collective struggles with community organisations, the differences between the forms and the functions of trade unions and other organisations, have come into focus more clearly. These differences have formed an important part of the debate concerning trade union affiliation of UDF.[88]

The independent trade unions which had argued against affiliating to the UDF had pointed to: the different class composition of the various organisations which made up UDF this they believed leads to different possibilities for organisational forms and strategies; the importance of trade union unity as a priority at that time; and the reality of a diverse membership of their unions, which included both radicals and conservatives of different political groupings. Trade unionists had argued that they were accountable to their workers first and foremost, and that that dictated what was possible. This did not however in theory inhibit cooperation on joint campaigns, nor did it inhibit members of trade unions from joining other community organisations in their individual capacities.

The independent trade union movement has been influenced by and has influenced both popular and worker struggles. Amongst many activists within community organisations, the question of working class leadership is a central issue. Therefore the theory and practice of the progressive trade unions informs their own practice in important ways. The public debates concerning for example, workers' democracy, or membership of the UDF by certain unions therefore, contributes to the intellectual climate in which community organisations function.

The black consciousness movement and the church

The BCM developed a strong base in Cape Town, particularly through SASO on the UWC campus, in the early 1970s. It also had close linkages with certain church groups. The Christian Institute[89] established in 1963, appears to have played a particularly important role. It functioned as an important part of a matrix of personal contacts for BCM and radical Christian individuals and groups which facilitated the dissemination and sharing of ideas and approaches. The CI also played an important role in the redefinition of 'Christian commitment', which assisted the development of an indigenous liberation theology. This had a lot in common with black theology which was being developed by Christians within the BCM.[90]

In this discussion we are not concerned with detailing the history of either the BCM or the radical fringe of the churches, but more with certain ideas or activities which may have influenced the later development of democratic community organisations in Cape Town. In order to do this we will look very briefly at certain of the key characteristics both in the BCM and in the more radical Christian movement. It is not possible to know how much these ideas have permeated contemporary practice, but an important consideration is that many of the people involved with the BCM and the radical Christian groups during the 1970s are still very active today in various of the community organisations. Interviews with seven of these activists, inform this discussion.[91]

The historical parameters of the emergence of the BCM are well documented[92], and Lodge points to the contradictory nature of existing appraisals of the movement.[93] He also points to the need to locate the growth of the movement within the larger context of social development in South Africa, particularly the coming of age of a new black petty bourgeoisie at the end of the sixties. (The rapid social mobility of coloured people in Cape Town at this time has been described by Beinart amongst others.) The BCM gained its initial impetus from leaders like Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, who had been members of the University Christian Movement (UCM) until it was banned on black university campuses. In 1969 they formed SASO, which began espousing black theology and the need for community projects. UCM had helped to shape an essential part of the programme of SASO, as the Christian view continued to be an important influence in SASO and associated organisations. While SASO was predominantly a student organisation, it also claimed to be an instrument for changing society and sought allies off campus.

In 1972 the Black People's Convention was formally launched. The aims of BPC were: to liberate and emancipate blacks from psychological and physical oppression; to create a humanitarian society where justice serves all equally; to cooperate with existing agencies with similar ideals; to reorientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the aspirations of the black people; to formulate and implement an education policy of blacks, by blacks and for blacks; and to formulate, and implement the principles and philosophies of black consciousness. The BPC also committed itself to the establishment of and the promotion of black business on a cooperative basis, including the establishment of banks, cooperative buying and selling, and the flotation of companies. All of these were to be designed as agencies of communal self-reliance. It also identified the need to work with trade unions, and established the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU).[94]

The BCM put unprecedented emphasis on the political necessity to address directly the psychological and cultural degradation suffered by blacks on an individual and collective level. Such an emphasis does have, as Couve[95] points out, distant echoes with Lembede's Africanist philosophy of the 1940s.[96]

At the end of the 1960s, as we have discussed in Part Two, there was a substantial body of literature, emanating from western capitalist countries, which stressed the importance of human agency in the struggles of all oppressed people. Gerhart[97] cites the decisive influences of Fanon's analyses of colonialism and its psychological and cultural consequences, (e.g. 1968 *The Wretched of the Earth*), the writings of Afro-Americans like Carmichael (e.g. 1967 *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*), the negritude writers like Senghor, and to a lesser extent the declarations of Kaunda and Nyerere on African humanism and socialism, on the thinking of BC ideologues.It was not so much a wholesale transposition but rather a selective importation and adaptation of ideas eminating from heterogeneous African and Afro-American analyses of racial and colonial oppression. In Cape Town the United States Information Service was actively promoting the BCM by making civil rights literature, films and speakers available from the U.S.A.[98]

The BC ideologues like Biko[99] and Pityana[100], reveal an almost exclusive emphasis on the psychological and cultural oppression, and if economic and political oppression is recognized, it is not understood in terms other than those of psychological and cultural oppression. Couve[101] points out that Fanon's influential work is marked by an inability to integrate his radical psychology and his own theory of class struggle. This inability is also reflected in another local study which was purported to have had an important influence on both the BCM and radical Christians, namely that of Rick Turner.[102] This will be discussed later.

Couve captures the essence of the BC ideology when he states that the ideology of racial superiority is a means whereby blacks come to believe in the psychological and cultural inferiority foisted upon them. An intrinsic part of the BC strategy was to develop an ideology by which the process of psychological and cultural inferiorization and the process of division could be combatted. At the centre of this ideology is the representation of the black man reduced to the status of an empty shell.[103] This representation provides a formidable condensation of the various feelings and complexes engendered by racial ideology in which black subjects can recognize their oppressed condition.

The ideology however guarantees and promises the restoration or recovery of a wholeness which has been lost in the history of contact with the dominant white racist group. In contradistinction to the 'empty shell', is a representation of the black man who has found himself, undone his complicity in his own misuse, a black man infused with pride and dignity. Thus a representation emerges, of a black man with his own positive, authentic attributes: humanist, communally oriented, sharing in the community.

During 1972-1977 there was a proliferation of organisations in South Africa which were connected to SASO, BPC and BCP.[104] Each organisation had its own special programme. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) and related bodies like the CI assisted the BCM financially, and with other material and human resources. The Black Communities Project (BCP) was a CI project which provided funds so that people like Biko and Pityana could be employed to work full-time.

Within the churches in the early 1960s, particularly after Sharpeville, there was a great deal of discussion concerning the role of the church in the Apartheid society. Amongst a group of Christians there were attempts to move the church to become more relevant within South African society. In 1963, under the vigorous leadership of Dr.Beyers Naude and heavily financed from abroad, the CI tried initially to influence white Christians by means of bible study and prayer groups. Disillusioned with white response, the CI gradually moved towards almost exclusive involvement with black liberation. There were several steps in this evolution. It began with the organisation of theological training for the ministers of independent African churches. This was followed by strong involvement in the compilation in 1968 of a powerful challenge sponsored by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and supported by most of the English speaking churches, the Message to the People of South Africa. Out of the Message grew the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) in which the CI also played a leading role. Between 1971 and 1973 SPROCAS produced seven reports on the situation in South Africa, including one which highlighted apartheid in the church. This was followed by SPROCAS. Two which consisted of the BCP. As this experience unfolded, the CI came to accept that black liberation would never come from white Christians but would have to be the outcome of black initiative. They therefore played a supportive role in the development of black initiative.

There were several of the radical churchmen who were strongly influenced by developments in the USA. One churchman described in an interview, the powerful influence a visit to the USA had had on the growth of his ideas for the church's role in SA. He motivated for the establishment of the Churches Urban Planning Commission (CUPC), on his return. This agency has played an important catalytic role in the growth of community work in Cape Town during the 1970s. He and others[105] were strongly influenced by the works of Alinsky, Illich and Freire. The UCM had apparently played an important part in the popularisation of Freire's work amongst BCM activists[106]:

Freire's ideas excited the students who felt they had suffered from the 'banking' type of education which Freire described and the material offered concrete alternatives. Freire's work was banned in South Africa but before UCM itself was banned in 1972, over 500 copies of Freire's work were made and circulated. Courses which aimed to inform fellow black students of Freire's ideas were run informally at the black universities and some students became involved in compiling community surveys to clarify critical areas for later discussion.

Various leadership training courses were offered by different church groups for youth organisations. For example, the Christian Education Leadership Training (CELT) organisation, the Methodist Christian Leadership Centre, and the CUPC, all ran short courses on community organising and leadership. Democratic leadership, (rather than laissez faire or authoritarian leadership) was stressed.[107] Two of the interviewees recalled the courses that they had attended in the early 1970s, in which there were strong BC feelings. It appears that many black youth and students attended these courses at that time. One other course, the National Youth Leadership Training Programme (NYLTP), was a three month live-in course, which was followed by work within a church. It aimed to create a microcosm of a utopian non-racial community. One interviewee, who went on to establish a radical children's magazine in 1980, spoke about the 'obsession' with participatory democracy on the course. The course had, she felt, had a strong influence on her understanding of 'good' organisational practice, which necessitated a participatory democratic structure and approach.

It seems that both the radical Christian groups and the BCM were in general terms, stressing similar values. These are given by Albert Nolan[108] as the values of 'sharing', 'human dignity' and 'human solidarity' (within BC it would be 'black solidarity'). These values appear to be integral to both liberation and black theology.[109]

In 1973 the CI was declared an 'affected organisation' by the Government. This effectively cut off its overseas funding. Members of the BCM and certain radical Christians, were being harrassed and banned by the government throughout this period . In October 1977 nineteen organisations, mainly those linked to the BCM, and the CI were banned, and Steve Biko died while in detention.

As mentioned earlier, there are different views on the effectiveness of the BCM. There is agreement however on the importance of the BCM in generating a new climate of resistance amongst black people.[110] In terms of the question relating to its contribution to the climate for organisations in the late 1970s, some speculative comments are possible: it stressed humanism and the importance of people; it emphasised 'the oppressed people', as needing to be empowered, and for them to take the decisions in the struggle for freedom; it emphasised the importance of black development, leadership and self-reliance. As a reaction to the BCM, some of the liberal and radical whites both inside and outside the church were inclined to stress the importance of non-racialism, and positive discrimination in order to counter the ongoing discriminatory practices. Attempts were made, as with the NYLTP live-in training course, to begin to create the 'ideal, hoped for' society. An antagonistic response to the BCM came from the NEUM, who rejected their analysis of the importance of the psychological oppression of blacks. They stressed the importance of a class analysis.[111]

Comment on the churches contribution to the climate of the late 1970s can also only be speculative. Within the church opportunities for black leadership became more available. Since the late 1960s, black clergy like Manas Buthelezi, Desmond Tutu, and, more recently, Allan Boesak have become important religious and political leaders in black communities. Within the youth organisations, and through the training programmes blacks and whites were exposed to different educational and community work philosophies and approaches. Financial and other resources have enabled organisations to develop. Organisations like CUPC have played an important role in the development of the field of community work and communty organising. Several activists who are still involved in community organising obtained their grounding in the CI and other church organisations. One reaction to the churches which was mentioned by four of the interviewees as having affected their approach to organisations, was the church's hierarchy and bureaucracy. Interviewees mentioned the contradiction between the church's theory and practice, which led to a questioning of the possibilities for the church to play a significant role in changing the Apartheid society.

Rick Turner's book, *The Eye of the Needle: Towards a Participatory Democracy in South Africa*, which was published in 1972, is a matrix of ideological influences at that time. He wrote it as a SPROCAS publication, and it is purported to have had an important influence on the BCM and radical Christians.[112] It is still regarded as an influential work.[113] In a very useful analysis of Turner's work Nash asserts that, 'We can learn from Turner only by attempting to understand the limitations of his work, which were also the limitations of the time in which he worked, and though perhaps in different ways, the limitations of the time in which we live.'[114]

The central philosophical question which Turner addresses is: how is the historical reality of the past to be recognised without denying the creative will of men and women to choose their own future and make that future in accordance with their choice? In attempting to answer this, he is unable to resolve the tension between individual moral commitment and collective political action. His argument for a utopian democratic, socialist state in South Africa is influenced by Existentialism, Marxism, Humanism and Christianity. His argument depends on the Sartrean concept of consciousness, which is: 'Man has no "nature" because the structure of consciousness, a continual project into the future, is such that it can never be bound to anything, and can always doubt any value. It is this structure of consciousness to which we are referring when we say man is free. He transcends the given towards a goal, a value which he constitutes himself.'[115] Nash argues that within the context of South Africa in 1972, its argument required a concept of consciousness which was only contingently historical and thus excluded the possibility of any coherent concept of the historical process that forms our consciousness. It was at the same time,under the same historical conditions, that the BCM was developing.

One of the unresolved contradictions in this work is that between individualism and collectivism, between the importance of working class leadership in the struggle for change, and individual change based on moral commitment. Turner was very active in attempting to encourage the reemergence of worker organisations in Durban at that time.[116] He recognised the importance of the working class. In his book Turner draws on both Existentialism and Marxism, which is reminiscent of Freire's work (which impressed Turner).

For change to occur in South Africa, he argues that there needs to be recognition of the intimate relationship between change in consciousness and organisation. Effective organisation must relate to the way people see the world and it must help them to see it differently. He notes three essential elements in this new way of seeing the world[117]:

> I must come to see the world as able to be changed. I must come to see myself as having the capacity to play a part in changing it. And I must see that my capacity to do this can be realised only in cooperation with other people. To grasp these three facts involves a fundamental shift in psychological attitude towards the world, rather than a simple change of intellectual awareness. Such a shift only occurs once I find myself involved in action.

The process of political change through the development of organisational solidarity must itself be a participatory experience if people are to become conscious of the possibilities of freedom.

Having acknowledged the importance of collective action, he turns to a discussion of the problems of whites. He asserts that they have internalised a particular human model, and are victims of the very system that they fight to preserve. He issues a moral appeal to them to see the evil of their ways and to adopt the 'Christian human model' (which as Nash points out, is based on an individualist explanation for resistance to the dominant ideology in capitalist society). Turner also speaks of blacks as being outside of the historical context: he argues that it is possible that they have not internalised the consumer values of the industrial society; that they may be able to build a future based on the communal values of traditional tribal life. He assumes, as Nash notes[118], that black South Africans have not only a relatively full understanding of the society in which they live, but also of the society in which they would choose to live. Precisely because black South Africans are excluded from the dominant patterns of socialization, they are excluded from the historical process which is identified with that socialization. (This view influenced the BCM at the time but was severely challenged by 1976.)

Turner's book was written in a clear and accessible way, with a directness and a clarity of purpose, which appealed to many activists of the day. Nash points out that it is still one of the few attempts to develop a scenario for a future socialist society for South Africa. Nash argues that the socialist political culture which is emergent today, and which is often fragmented and rudimentary, 'is charaterised by its reliance on the reality of the past, which has not produced a vision of the future society which might be given clearer form by the struggles to create it.'[119] It is in this area that Turner's work still has relevance today. The central paradoxes in his work have yet to be resolved. They can still be identified within community and worker organisations and in the debates concerning the importance of race or class in the struggles for a socialist future.

The reemergence of the African National Congress within the country after 1976

The history of the ANC is well documented.[120] The purpose of this section is not to elaborate its history, but to consider its possible effect on community organisations in the late 1970s. Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini[121] in a recent book, provide a succinct overview of the ANC and its apparent influence in this period.

The ANC is the leading force in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. Based principally on an alliance of class forces amongst the nationally oppressed, the ANC seeks to forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements pledged to the overthrow of the Apartheid State. Within this alliance it recognises the 'special role' of the working class as the guarantor that the form of national liberation achieved in South Africa is a democratic state in which the wealth and basic resources are 'at the disposal of the people as a whole'.

The ANC was formed in 1912; for almost 50 years it followed a strategy of non-violent resistance. However, in 1961 it adopted the armed struggle as its principal strategic method of struggle. Its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe remains controlled by the political leadership of the organisation, and armed struggle is combined with other forms of mass organisation both illegal and semi-legal. The last ten years have seen a rapid upsurge of ANC activity in South Africa, both at the military and mass levels.The programme of demands of the ANC is contained within the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1956. It basically calls for a democratic state in which the land and wealth of the country are controlled by the people. The present stage of the South African revolution is defined as 'the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed groups the African people'.[122] National liberation from colonial oppression is 'bound up with economic emancipation'. Here the 'special role' of the working class is seen as crucial in securing a 'speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation'.

In the period since 1976, and particularly after 1978, the ANC has combined military actions with mass mobilisation. The military strategy appears to be concentrated on sabotage attacks against strategic economic and military installations and representatives of the apartheid regime.[123] As a complement to the armed struggle, a number of recent semi-legal campaigns have again generated open mass support for the ANC. In recent years, ANC flags have been openly displayed at mass rallies and ANC slogans have been widely used. Perhaps most significant the demands of the ANC programme, the Freedom Charter, have been adopted as a basic blueprint for a future democratic South Africa by a large number of diverse groupings and class forces, ranging from the Black Sash[124], Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), student organisations, to church bodies. 1985 was the thirthieth anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, and several organisations used this opportunity to make the Charter even more popular, as the 1985 Grassroots Calendar testified. This does not mean that these are ANC controlled bodies, but rather demonstrates the extent to which the basic demands of the ANC have come to crystallise a broad democratic opposition to the Apartheid system. This has also been reflected in the increasing international recognition of the ANC as the leading revolutionary force in South Africa.

The reemergence of the ANC as a leading force in the struggle for change, has been one of the factors which has encouraged people to look back and learn from the struggles of the past. The history of resistance has been rediscovered by activists, and academics. The emphasis that the ANC put on the need for organisation, as opposed to the Pan African Congress which relied more on spontaneity, as part of the process of mass mobilisation, has influenced the approach of some organisations. The participatory approach to the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, and the 'Mandela Plan' for the creation of street committees and cells[125], are two examples which have been drawn on as 'good' organisational practice within certain organisations.[126] The non-racial approach of the ANC, which encourages class alliances, has provided a basis for a strategy adopted by the UDF in the 1980s. (This will be discussed later.) It has given the radical white petit bourgeoisie a place in the struggle against the Apartheid state, which the BCM, for the most part, denies them.

The community struggles in the late 1970s and early 1980s

Important strands which have been discussed so far as having contributed to the climate of the late 1970s, and which have been developing simultaneously, include the reemergence of the independent trade union movement with new strategies which link workplace and community struggles, the growth of the BCM and radical church groups, and the reemergence of the ANC after 1976, all of which were responses to the 'organic crisis' of the state. In this section emphasis will be given to the struggles in the community as opposed to those at work, although as we have seen in the consumer boycotts, the relationship between the two is complex and dynamic. The sources which are used here are limited. Few indepth andsystematic studies have been made of the various collective activities. Each of the struggles was very complex, and the effects which each may have had on individuals and groups are very difficult to discern. The aim here is to give examples of lessons which seem to have effected the general understanding of community organisation amongst many of the activists.

The most important watershed action came with the revolt of students in 1976. All the particular political groupings of the oppressed were forced to reconsider their strategies.[127] The uprising which began as a protest against Bantu Education, soon became a mass revolt against the Apartheid system. The uprising assumed a national character with similar occurrences in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Natal. The State responded by using its repressive machinery in an attempt to halt these uprisings. At the end of this period, many people lay dead, thousands of students had fled across the borders and had joined the liberation army[128], leaders were jailed and, as we noted earlier, nineteen organisations were banned in 1977.

One of the lessons of 1976 is described by Francis[129], who states that although the mass nature of the uprisings cannot be doubted, a substantial grass roots infrastructure was absent. As the upheavals of the 1970s grew more violent the lack of effective organisation among the mass of workers and students became increasingly evident. The 'resistance energy' of the masses could only be channelled in the form of isolated skirmishes which were quickly suppressed by the State. Towards the end of the uprisings students tried to become more worker and community orientated. However, given the repressive reaction of the State and the disorganisation that existed at that time, such initiatives floundered. Hence, with the demise of popular leaders and the banning of organisations, an organisational vacuum was created leaving little room for the elaboration of structures that would sustain the momentum of active political conflict. The experiences of these uprisings generated a feeling among activists that grassroots structures were needed. There had been criticism of the BCM line of'conscientisation' and spontaneous uprising. There was a shift towards the need for theoretical understanding rather than blind activism. The student leadership began to link the student struggles with the struggles of the workers, and they recognised their limited role in the struggle for social change. They believed that the workers not the students should be in the lead. Marxism provided the theoretical framework within which activists reflected on their experiences a critique of BCM was developed. Blacks were no longer seen as a homogeneous group.[130] Social class and not race, many black students realised, was the crucial issue. Amongst some radical white students, some members of the NEUM and others, who had been using western Marxist critiques unquestioningly in their analysis of South Africa the revolt of 1976 offered a challenge. Amongst some, the importance of both class and race was acknowledged, and Gramsci's theory became important in their analysis of the State.[131] In line with Gramsci's theory of transition some people saw the need to establish 'proletarian institutions' in the form of worker and community organisations, which could help to develop 'organic intellectuals' of the working class.

With the emergence of the ANC in 1977 and 1978, the Freedom Charter encouraged a non-racial stance, and raised the issues of class alliances. BCM elements regrouped within the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) in 1979.[132] At this time it seems that the State had changed its strategy towards organisations, and AZAPO was allowed to function in an explicitly political way.[133] The Government continued harrassment of the leadership of AZAPO and on the 29 February 1988 declared it a 'restricted organisation' which prohibits it from conducting any activities.

State repression throughout the 1976 uprising made activists question the issue of leadership. The leadership was the first to be detained and harrassed, therefore collective leadership, which was less visible and which could rotate, was necessary for the struggle to be able to continue. The level of State repression also taught students about the need for absolute commitment to their political goals, and to accept the possibilities of State action.[134]

In the period from 1977 to 1979 there were no widespread campaigns. Community organisation was low keyed and mainly centred around 'squatter'struggles. There was a growth in the number of community work agencies and community workers.[135] It seems that the emergent field of community work, which had gained a strong impetus from the BCM and the radical church groups, was being explored as a possible strategy within Social Work for the promotion of social change. The works of Alinsky, Illich and Freire, amongst others, were being studied both at university Social Work Departments and within the agencies themselves. The CUPC training programmes, which was mentioned earlier, were part of the more radical vanguard within the community work field. Community workers were helping to establish residents associations in various parts of the Cape Flats. For example, in Bishop Lavis the UWC students were working with the Foundation for Social Development (FSD) to promote organisation; SHAWCO workers helped establish the Duinefontein Tenants Association; and in Vrygrond students worked with CAFDA.[136] Their aim was to promote collective action by the communities in their demand for civil rights, very much along the lines of, for example, the Community Development Projects in Britain and Alinsky in the U.S.A.

The community workers from the various agencies also played an important role within the squatter struggles. Squatter settlements have been a permanent part of Cape Town's history. Very little work has been done on the history of squatter settlements in Cape Town, although this is changing. Cole[137] usefully places the development of the squatter camps within the political economy of the Western Cape. The squatter camps which were struggling for survival in the late 1970s were the Modderdam, Werksgenot, Unibel and Crossroads camps, and in the early 1980s, Nyanga Bush, No Name camp, amongst others. Through these struggles a range of lessons was learnt by both the outside agents and the inside activists. Most apparent are those learnt by the outsiders. These have been discussed in ad hoc community publications and in the community newspaper, *Grassroots*. The central concern and criticism seems to relate to the impact of the outsiders on the levels of participation by the members of the community at large, and the related issue of community control. The role of the 'expert' was seriously questioned. Underlying the criticisms seems to be an assumption about the need for participatory democracy, and collective leadership by 'the people' of each camp. The educational value of the struggle for the members of the camps is another underlying assumption. Community workers and other outside people who encourage the community to fight legal battles through the courts, are depriving the community of opportunities to learn through controlling the collective action themselves.[138] It is argued that the members of the community obtain a false sense of the neutrality of the State apparatuses.[139]

By the end of the 1970s, and with the actions of community workers in the Meat boycott, there was a serious reassessment of the role of community work amongst radical activists. This critique is well presented in *WIP*[140], andisalso presented in the first few editions of *Grassroots*. Arguments were being made for community organisation, as opposed to community work, which is conducted by the people themselves. One of the possible results of the antagonism which developed towards community workers by 1980 is a lack of recognition given to them for their contribution to the growth of the network of community organisations in 1980 by contemporary historians. Manuel[141] for example argues that community organisations only started in 1980, thus ignoring the numerous community organisations which were given impetus by community workers in the 1970s and the long history of community organising before that.

In 1979 the first national stirring since 1976 was discernible, and it ushered in an intensified period of popular and working class activity. Two strikes in 1979 set the tone for later developments. In April workers at the Fattis and Monis plant in Cape Town went on strike and were dismissed. As discussed earlier, this led to a seven month long nationwide boycott of Fattis and Monis products which ended in the reinstatement of the workers. Shortly afterwords, stevedores on the Cape Town docks won recognition for their union, the GWU, through strike action. The year 1980 witnessed an upsurge in factory-based worker action in various centres. The Fattis and Monis struggle again emphasised the need for more permanent forms of organisation.

1980 saw intensified political activity in the Western Cape. The two most important events were the meat workers strike and the student boycott. Both were played out in the same arena. The student boycott[142] differed somewhat from that of the students in 1976. Whereas the events of the 1976 uprising revolved around the students, in 1980 students actively attempted to gain the support of their parents and of the workers. They realised that while student protest plays an important part in the wider struggle for democratic rights, it is only a constituent part of such a struggle. Hence 1980 saw an acknowledgement of the importance of community and trade union organisations and a greater emphasis on joint action with parents and teachers. Student-parent organisations were formed, and they started to link up with broader political actions in the form of bus boycotts[143], the Free Mandela campaign[144] and community struggles over issues such as rent increases.[145] This time the students' goals were more clearly defined and a protracted boycott was avoided. They, through the mediation of the broader community, saw the boycott as a tactical weapon. One theme that was reiterated throughout the boycott was that the mass struggle was an ongoing process. Thus, after the boycott, students were able to continue the process of struggle within the communities in which they lived.

Before the build up to the boycott, students at most of the coloured schools were unorganised. Within a few days of the beginning of the boycott most students had an SRC which was elected by the student body. Many student leaders stressed the need for democracy within the movement. The boycott was controlled from the outset by a Committee of 61, which later became the Committee of 81. The SRCs each elected two delegates to the Committee. In a document of 14/5/80 the Committee of 81 stated that[146]:

> We as students should decide in our meetings at schools and our representatives must then go to the Committee of 81 meeting and give reasons for us making certain decisions. We must have more MASS DEMOCRACY.

In 1980 the schools were seen as an important site of struggle. The struggle for democratically elected SRCs was seen as part of the struggle for democracy more broadly in the society. These struggles have since been taken up by other organisations such as COSAS[147]. At this time several organisations which concentrated on particular constituencies and particular issues were emerging.

These included UWO and the Women's Front on women's issues, CAHAC and the Federation of Cape Civics around housing, and the WCYL and CAYCO to coordinate youth, also AZASO for university students. In addition to organising around immediate demands, they have put forward long term programmatic demands, which have been inspired either by the Freedom Charter, the BCM, or the NEUM Ten Point Programme.

The explicitly 'political' campaigns in this period were the anti-Republic Day, anti-Management Committees and Anti-SAIC actions.[148] In the Anti-SAIC campaign in Cape Town, the reemergence of the traditional political antagonisms between traditional groupings became a feature. This was one of the first signs of the political regrouping which was to occur in 1983, and which will be discussed in the next section.

The local literature which describes and analyses this period of community organisation in the Greater Cape Town area, comprises ad hoc publications, newsletters published by certain specific organisations like the Federation of Cape Civics, CAHAC, or the Western Cape Youth League (WCYL), and Grassroots Community Newsletter. The latter publication is the only one which was established to facilitate communication amongst different organisations, rather than as an internal publication for an organisation. It supports a non-racial as opposed to a BC or NEUM position. In 1982 *Grassroots* had a hundred local community organisations as members.[149] An analysis of the content of *Grassroots* provides important insights into the dominant views on organisational issues amongst this rapidly expanding group of community activists. Most of the articles in *Grassroots* are written by the full-time workers who are active in a range of community organisations, or by leading members within the other organisations. With a circulation of between 15 and 20 000 copies per edition, and a distribution network primarily through the community organisations, the impact of the newsletter on the the development of community organisations has been important.

Grassroots has had a very clear message since its inception: UNITE and ORGANISE! The underlying assumptions which appeared to underpin this message in its first few years, are very similar to those stated by Turner, (who was quoted previously), and others concerned with participatory democracy. The questions of leadership, authority, accountability, participation and education are answered in particular ways, which emphasise the participatory character of democracy, although there are exceptions to this dominant view. A few examples will be given to illustrate these observations.

Leadership, authority and accountability

The idea of collective leadership was promoted through the newsletter. One example of this was that the policy had been not 'to build up individuals into leadership positions'. Ideas concerning organisation were considered more important than the individuals behind them.[150] The authority was seen to lie with 'the people' or the members of particular organisations. In an article advising readers how to start an organisation, it states[151]:

> It is important that the community speaks with one voice; that individuals without a mandate do not claim to speak on behalf of the community; that individuals do not make demands except through their organisations.

After the 1982 Annual General Meeting (AGM) *Grassroots* policy was restated as having 'to encourage collective leadership'. Accountability was to the membership of an organisation.

After the formation of UDF in August 1983 some changes could be discerned concerning these issues. The major emphasis was on more explicitly political campaigns, rather than very parochial questions of local organisation. The leaders of UDF, such as Oscar Mpetha and Rev. Allan Boesak, were given extensive coverage. The activities of UDF were widely reported. It seemed that people were being encouraged to participate behind the leadership of the UDF rather than around the immediate issues in their communities. The tendency may have been also for there to be accountability to the movement rather than to a local organisation, although this is difficult to state with any certainty.

Participation and education

Participation seemed to have been promoted for several reasons. On one level, it was used to mobilise people to become involved in the struggle for civil rights. In a number of articles the idea of 'the expert' had been challenged, and the slogan 'we speak for ourselves' had been prominent. On another level participation had been viewed as a strategy to develop members' self-confidence and their leadership ability. The idea that all people should be involved in decision-making and in all the activities because of its educational value, had been promoted. An article 'What is democracy?'[152] states:

> In a Democratic Organisation
>
> All members are workers and managers. Everyone has a say in planning, organising and controlling what happens. All share in the thinking and the doing.Everyone in the organisation makes the rules. Rules are also changed by calling a meeting of everyone.
>
> People learn as much as possible about running the whole organisation. People who have special information share it with others. People are helped to get the skills so that they can do the whole job.
>
> Everyone in the organisation discusses the problems and does the work. In this way people are teaching themselves all the time. They do not need formal certificates.
>
> Information is shared by all members as much as possible. Only with all the information can people make the right decisions.

In contrast to this article, and others which have promoted the idea of a collectivist organisation, which is non-hierarchical and participative, some articles have concentrated on democracy as a formal mechanism which is concerned with representation. These articles on, for example, the drawing up of constitutions and on meeting procedures[153], have been of a more legalistic nature. This comparison and contrast is mentioned as an example of the differing, and sometimes competing views which were conveyed, and which seem an inevitable part of a project such as Grassroots.

The sharing of skills, participation in planning and decision-making, and the importance of evaluation so as to learn from mistakes, had all been stressed in numerous articles. The functioning of Grassroots has also emphasised these values. From 1981 to 1983 Grassroots actively encouraged participation in the bi-annual assessments through surveys, questionnaires, public meetings and workshops for organisational representatives. The 1984 annual evaluation, however, did not see active participation by many organisations and individuals. Participation in many organisations, including Grassroots, had decreased; one reason was that the organisations had been effected by the establishment of UDF.[154] The way that democracy was spoken about within community organisations appeared to be changing with these changing conditions.

The popular, participatory democractic rhetoric of certain organisations, appeared to be in stark contrast to the dominant views within,for example, the NEUM tradition. The theory and practice of the NEUM was unknown to the majority of people who are not a part of the affiliated organisations.[155] In two interviews with persons who have had close contact with this tradition, it was said that:

> After the repressive state actions in the early 1960s the NEUM took a decision to operate in a very low-keyed, semi-underground fashion. Although the organisation was not banned, it couldn't afford to operate openly.Democracy which meant broad and open participation was considered a luxury. Experience had taught people that measures for survival had to be adopted. These meant trusting the leadership, and not expecting to be a part of the decision-making. We had to accept that we could not know everything.

There were many people within the new community organisations who had had experience in the 1950s,1960s and 1970s either within the NEUM or the banned political organisations. While there has been no legal political party for people to belong to, community and worker organisations have had to fulfill many diverse roles. This as Gramsci has pointed out, is inevitable in a repressive society. Community organisations in Cape Town could therefore be expected to hold within them a diverse range of experiences which would present differing views on the theory and practice of democracy within organisations.

The formation of the United Democratic Front and Cape Action League

The transition from the relative quiet of the 1960s to the industrial and political turmoil of the 1970s put the South African State under mounting pressure. As Francis[156] explains, traditionally the State has absorbed the struggle of the black masses through a two pronged strategy of division and repression. In response to the crisis the State retained these twin elements, albeit in a more refined form of mass disorganisation. Repression has been intensified. For instance, from 1977-1980, 743 people were charged in 216 'terrorism' trials and in June 1980 there were at least 330 people in 'preventative detentions'.[157] Insofar as division is concerned, the cooptive element has become more pronounced. The mass resistance to Apartheid in the 1970s increasingly took on an openly anti-capitalist form. Consequently by 1978 virtually all sections of the organised capitalist class and leaders of the SADF, and 'verligte' elements of the Government were demanding reform. In 1977 Mr. P. W. Botha, then Minister of Defence, announced a programme of a 'total strategy' to meet what he termed 'the total onslaught'. Its fundamental aim was 'a guarantee for the system of free enterprise'. A major initiative of the programme is the attempted creation of a black middle-class, who would obtain a material stake in the system (and then presumably would be prepared to defend it), and which would divide them off from the black masses. Thus, the new State strategy hoped to maintain and strengthen the basic capitalist system, while at the same time strengthen elements which maintain the division amongst the disenfranchised. State initiatives to this end included the development of the Tricameral Parliament to incorporate coloured and Indian people, the 'Koornhof' Bills which were the Black Communities Development Bill, the Black Local Authorities Bill and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. The primary aim of these bills was to divide permanent urban residents from other Africans in the urban areas.[158]

In response to the 'New Deal' of the Government, several organisations began to meet to discuss possible actions.The first to meet in Cape Town was the Federation of Cape Civics[159] in June 1982, then in September the Women's Front held a meeting and this led to he calling of a general meeting of all community and worker organisations to consider joint action to oppose the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. This was the start of what became known as the Disorderly Bill Action Committee (DBAC). It included members from organisations within the NEUM, and from BC and non-racial tendencies. It was not long before this committee ran into problems because of their political differences. For example, a key issue became the presence of the white student organisation, NUSAS. There were also personal antagonisms, and inefficiencies which led to problems in the committee.[160]

At about this time ideas were being mooted for a national campaign, and a meeting was called to this end in Johannesburg in January 1983. At this meeting Rev Allan Boesak called for a united democratic front to fight the Government's initiatives. Certain organisations in Cape Town responded positively to this call. They were primarily those who adopted the Freedom Charter. They withdrew from the DBAC. Others remained in the weakened DBAC and later formalised themselves into the Cape Action League. They were to align themselves with the National Forum which met in mid-1983 and which attracted organisations with BC tendencies and those who followed a more explicitly socialist line.[161]

The formation of the UDF was discussed extensively in the local organisations. These discussions crystallised into a conference on the 12 May 1983, which was attended by some of the organisations now a part of UDF and all the major unions. The discussions were inconclusive and a second round of discussions were held on 21 July 1983 without the unions. (Some of the reasons for trade union withdrawal have been noted previously.) At this meeting it was decided to form the Cape Democratic Front. This later became a regional branch of the national UDF which was launched in Cape Town on the 20 August 1983. At this time in Cape Town the atmosphere was politically charged, as activists on all sides of the political spectrum, debated the pros and cons of a popular front, and their membership of it. The formation of UDF and CAL had delineated the political groupings more clearly, and for the first time since the early 1960s, more explicitly political structures have developed to which community and worker organisations needed to relate. This has made a noticeable impact on community organisations in Cape Town.

In conclusion

The case study has described the development of a particular set of voluntary associations at an historic 'moment'. We have argued that the socio-political context has played an important determining role in both the formation and the 'democratic' forms these organisations have taken. The call for 'democracy' by the oppositional or counter-hegemonic groupings is, on the one hand, clearly a part of the ongoing ideological struggle, and on the other, it has influenced the practices within organisations in a variety of concrete ways. The meanings given to 'democracy' have been shown to vary widely and therefore cannot be taken foregranted. The meanings have emanated from various quarters, based on a variety of theories and practices. For example, we have shown that at certain times participatory democracy has been favoured by some organisations, at others a representative form, while in, for example, the independent trade union movement a combination of mass participation and representation has been an organisational goal.

The next case study focuses on major developments for community organisations from 1985 to 1988.

SECTION

3

CASE STUDY TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN GREATER CAPE TOWN FROM 1985 TO 1988

Introduction

There was a proliferation of new community organisations in Greater Cape Town between 1985 and 1988. In this case study we will:

1 Give an overview of the findings of the survey of community organisations which were established between 1985 and 1988.

2 Attempt to explain the increase in the number of new organisations by pointing to developments in the political, socio-economic and cultural arena both nationally and locally.

3 Highlight some of the trends and the issues for community organisations during this period.

This case study does not give a comprehensive picture of developments within community organisations - it is merely able to point to some important trends and issues. It should be seen as a preliminary attempt to capture some of the contemporary history of these organisations.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SURVEY'S FINDINGS

The survey, which is presented in the next section and to which we refer you to for more detail reveals the establishment of approximately 145 new organisations during the period 1985 to 1988 in Greater Cape Town. The break-down of these organisations is by function as follows: 4 civics, 1 community work, 8 cultural, 82 education, research, resource and information, 21 student and youth, 23 political and 6 women's organisations. This is nearly double the number of organisations started during the preceding five years - a period which itself saw a very dramatic upswing in the growth of new community organisations.

The area of cultural work has developed dramatically in the last three to four years with the formation of 8 new cultural organisations and the integration of cultural activities into the functions of many other organisations. Both the 1982 Gaberone Cultural Festival and the CASA conference[159], held in Holland in 1987, injected new interest and activity in the field of the arts and culture. Cultural activity also gained impetus because, under harsh and repressive conditions, organisations began to use the arts as a legal and relatively safe means of political resistance. So widespread was this phenomenon that by 1986 it had begun to be called 'peoples culture'.[160] The UDF and the COSATU established 'cultural desks'. Currently the roles of cultural organisations and cultural activities as part of the mass democratic movement (MDM) are being debated within some organisations of the MDM.[161]

In the area of sport there have been a number of significant developments. The position of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) as the leading nonracial sports federation has been challenged with the formation of the National Sports Congress (NSC).[162] SACOS has increasingly been criticised by people in the MDM because of amongst other things, its political role and its inability to attract an African membership.

There has been a substantial increase in the numbers of education, research, resource and information organisations with 82 new ones being formed since the beginning of 1985. Of these organisations there are many which emerged directly from the 'education crisis' of 1984 and 1985. (This crisis will be discussed in the next section.) Some were set up to respond to a particular set of circumstances, for example, the Parent Action Committee was established in 1985 to co-ordinate the activities around the education crisis in the Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga areas. Concerned Parents' Committees were also established in Mitchell's Plain in 1986 and at Langa High during 1987. Others, such as the Cape Education Computer Society (CECS), were established to take up particular educational issues. Two new literacy organisations were formed. These are Using Spoken and Written English (USWE), previously based only in the Transvaal, and the Suid-Afrikaanse Geletterdheid (SAG). The recent establishment of the Regional Literacy Co-operation Comittee is a significant development in the literacy field. It links local literacy projects and organisations with one another and it works with other literacy organisations nationally.

19 new resource agencies were formed between 1985 and 1988. A number of these are based at the universities. Others, such as the Athlone Resource Centre and the Wynberg Resource Centre, are community-based. Some of the resource agencies are involved in forms of action research, and research has become a primary focus for others, namely the Manenberg Research Project and the Labour Research Service (LRS). Several of the resource and research projects were established to service the needs of the 'mass-based' community and worker organisations. This proliferation of so many new 'service organisations', not only in Greater Cape Town but also nationally, has stimulated fervent debate regarding their roles, their accountability, and their location within the broader political milieu.[163]

Another feature of the new organisations is the range of economic and social sectors which they represent and organise. Our survey indicates that since 1985 several different professional groupings have developed organisational structures for themselves. Sectors of teachers, lawyers, social workers, cultural workers, doctors, dentists, planners, environmentalists and academics have all developed new representative bodies. In the health field alone at least 3 new professional health workers' organisations have been formed.[164]

Another sector within which there have been significant developments is within extra-parliamentary 'white politics'. Organisations established during the period 1985 to 1988 which work within this sector specifically are the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (IDASA), Cape Democrats (an affiliate of the UDF) and the Five Freedoms Forum (Western Cape Branch). The Cape Democrats, Mowbray Youth Congess (MOYCO) and Gardens Youth Congress (GAYCO) were formed after it was decided within the UDF that members of their Area Committees should be organisationally based. These new organisations provided bases for whites who aligned themselves with the MDM and who aimed to win over more whites to the MDM position. They have worked with both extra-parliamentary and parliamentary organisations to unite white opposition to apartheid and split the white ruling bloc. Their approach has intensified the debates amongst the extra-parliamentary political groups around appropriate political strategies and tactics.[165]

New organisations have also formed in direct reponse to specific developments in the socio-economic and political context. For example, the Squatter Support Group Ad Hoc Committee arose out of resistance to forced removals between 1984 to 1988. Others have responded to the growing poverty within the population. Many organisations have started projects which are concerned with welfare needs, such as feeding schemes and food production. Co- operatives have become popular as income-generating projects and as experiments in new forms of economic organisation. An informal forum for co-ops has been formed in Cape Town to facilitate co-operation amongst them.[166] Unemployment has been taken up as an issue by 3 new organisations.[167] These organisations focus both on economic survival strategies for members as well as on the broader political and economic issues relating to unemployment.

Organisations have also formed in direct response to the increasing levels of repression. Our survey shows that approximately 15 new organisations were initiated to oppose and challenge repression. The names of some of these are distinguished by the word 'crisis'. Others are, for example, the Committee for the Defence of Democracy, the Save the Press Campaign and the Free the Children Alliance. As some organisations have been restricted, others have been formed. The emergence of new organisations despite repression is one of the most interesting developments during this period. It is indicative of the failure of the State's strategy to suppress its opposition.

During this period some community organisations have been exploring ways of sharing resources and working co-operatively. For example, organisations which service trade unions have been meeting to explore appropriate 'codes of conduct' and a large building was renovated and opened as Community House. A number of trade-unions and community organisations are housed there.[168]

AN OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING 1985-1988

In this section we will mention briefly some of the major national and local socio-economic and political developments which appear to have influenced the growth of so many new community organisations during the period from 1985 to 1988. While there may not be a causal relationship between the macro developments and the establishment of a particular organisation, these developments set the context in which community organisations have been formed and shaped.

The current situation in South Africa has been analysed from a variety of socio-economic and political perspectives by numerous scholars.[169] We merely point to some of the issues which these scholars have raised and which seem pertinent to the development of community organisations.

Economic developments

It is widely acknowledged that the South African economy is in crisis. Some of the indicators which point to the crisis are: the rising rate of inflation, from 16 percent to 20 percent in 1985; the fluctuating mortgage rates which reached 25 percent in 1985; increasing unemployment figures which are the highest ever recorded with an unofficial estimate being 4,5 million of the economically active population in 1985; the dramatic rise in the State's foreign debt from 8% of the GDP in 1980 to 27% in 1984; disinvestment by increasing numbers of foreign companies.[170]

One of the State's responses to the economic crisis has been to privatise various of its assets, for example, part of its housing stock, health and welfare services, and certain key state industries. In addition the State is focussing more and more on the 'informal sector' and the deregulation of the economy as part of the 'solution' to unemployment.[171]

Another significant development, which has had important implications for the growth of new community organisations in this period, has been the increased investment in 'black community development projects' by companies which have 'disinvested' and other funding foundations from Western Europe and North America.[172]

Social conditions

The official population figure of South Africa was given officially as 37,2 million in June 1988 with a projected growth rate of approximately 2,8% per annum. This rapid population growth has serious implications for all forms of state and social provision. The increasing population, rapid urbanisation, and the crisis in the economy have resulted in a further deterioration in social conditions and an increase in the general impoverishment of the majority of the population. This is graphically described in the study "Uprooting Poverty".[173]

Constitutional and other political developments

During September 1984 and June 1986 a dramatic and unprecedented level of resistance to the State was led by community organisations and trade unions (see Case Study One). From the late 1970s the State had sought to maintain its supremacy through a programme of reform called the 'total national strategy'. According to Swilling:[174]

> Total strategy planners in the early 1980s were riding the crest of a wave. The state had been re-organised, the 1979-1982 economic boom created an atmosphere of prosperity and growth. Unrest was under control, black moderates were coming forward to collaborate, business was cooperative and the right-wing was relatively quiet. It was in this context that grand visions of social change, reform and racial cooperation flourished.

The State's major political aim in this period was the incorporation of some sections of the black majority into a new constitutional framework. This resulted in the 1983 constitution and the creation of the Tri-cameral Parliament which provided for coloured and Indian participation in the parliamentary system as junior partners. Accompanying these constitutional reforms were urban and labour reforms which means the State hoped to legitimise its rule in the townships and incorporate workers into the industrial relations system, thus weakening the growing working-class militancy.

Over the last ten years a sophisticated new State security system has been developed, the National Management System (NMS). A most significant feature of the new security system is that it has an organisational network which extends from a national to a local level. At the local level there are Joint Management Centres (JMCs) which involve personnel from all State departments, including education, health, welfare, and the SADF, plus representatives of local government and from certain churches, cultural and sports bodies.[175] Whilst JMCs allegedly have a welfare function, they operate as a local unrest- monitoring and intelligence-gathering network. They also coordinate the upgrading of the townships identified as 'oil spots'. By October 1986 the state had established network of approximately 500 JMCs in what has been described as 'the silent take-over' or a 'quiet coup'.[176]

In May 1986, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, described the State's counter-revolutionary strategy as bombing 'the enemy in their bases', mass detentions and local government strategies, part of which included what the security planners refer to as 'soft war' or 'welfare measures'. These measures have become popularly known as the WHAM strategy i.e. 'winning the hearts and minds'.[177] Through the WHAM programme, the State has embarked on: upgrading of particular townships, housing development, local government reform, cooption of leadership within black communities through the local government structures and the proposed National Council, scrapping of influx control, pro-government propaganda campaigns and certain economic reforms, such as deregulation, privatisation and uncontrolled regional/metropolitan labour markets.[178]

Another major constitutional development has been the development of the Regional Services Councils (RSCs). As Pierre du Toit[179] states: "Regional Services Councils, along with the Tri-cameral Parliament, constitute the most important instruments of constitutional engineering in the ruling party's 'reform programme' in the 1980s." RSCs consist of representatives from Primary Local Authorities (PLAs) which are coloured and Indian Management Committees, Black Local Authorities (BLAs) and white Municipalities. Since 1984 BLAs have been incorporated into local government for the first time. Their main functions are to oversee the provision of services to their constituencies.[180] With the installation of fourteen RSCs by mid-1988 "local politics has begun to take on a city-wide, cross-race character " for the first time.[181]

Besides these national developments, the implementation of resolution 435 leading to independence for Namibia and the ending of the war in Angola have profoundly affected the climate of the late 1980s within which community organisations are operating. One example of the influence that the regional political developments are having within the country is to put the issue of a 'negotiated settlement' for South Africa itself under the spotlight. (During 1989 this issue has been the focus of discussion within many organisations of the MDM.)

Extra-parliamentary opposition

The State's reforms failed to transfer effective power to the black majority and were rejected by both trade unions and community organisations. Evidence of this was the low poll at the 1988 PLA elections.[182] In response to the deteriorating economic, social and political conditions a high level of mass mobilisation was achieved from 1984 to 1986 in many parts of the country through rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, school boycotts and stay-aways. The UDF played an important role in coordinating these struggles into a national movement. Activists formed street and area committees which were used as alternative local structures of 'people's power', with the aim of making the townships 'ungovernable'. These local structures, which included union participation in some areas, took over key township functions such as crime prevention, administration of justice through 'people's courts', refuse removal and handling of residents' grievances.[183] Indicator[184] recorded a total number of 202 boycott actions nationally during the period from September 1984 to 10 June 1988. These boycotts included 51 consumer, 55 rent or service, and 26 transport boycotts.

On the 1 December 1985 the country's largest trade-union confederation, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), was launched. The founding of COSATU brought together half a million trade union members from 33 unions in the most powerful non-racial trade union movement that the country had ever witnessed.[185] Another, smaller trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), was founded in 1987. Since 1986 the trade union movement has increasingly become a major force in the mobilisation of both workers and other members of the community. For example, they organised a national three day stayaway on the 6,7,8 June 1988 called in protest against the restrictions imposed by the State on certain community organisations and the trade union movement and the proposed Labour Relations Bill. They have also organised strikes and work stoppages involving a total of 161 399 workers in 1988 alone.[186] Together with community organisations they spearheaded national campaigns such as the Release Mandela campaign and they have initiated the militant Living Wage campaign.[187]

Another example of extra-parliamentary opposition during this period was the launch of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy on 7 March 1988. This was a response to the restrictions placed on 18 organisations and 18 individuals on the 29 February 1988. Seven days later, the organisation was restricted and their first rally banned. On 23 May 1988 approximately 66 organisations launched the 'Save the Press' campaign in Cape Town in response to increasing restrictions on press freedom.[188]

Throughout the period from 1985 to 1988 the ANC has grown in stature amongst a wide range of South Africans and it has increasingly been recognised internationally and locally as a leading political force in the country. This has occured both because of its political or diplomatic work and because of actions by its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. On the political level many groups have held discussions and consulted with the ANC in Lusaka since 1987: these have included religious leaders, academics, students, members of the business community, trade unionists and political leaders from a range of both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.[189] There have also been increasing numbers of conferences across a wide range of sectors which have brought together exiled South Africans under the leadership of the ANC, and in some cases the PAC, with representatives inside the country.[190] Increasing numbers of South Africans are being drawn into discussions about future policy in a 'post-apartheid' society.[191] On the military front, during the period from 1984 to 1988 there was a marked escalation of 'guerilla attacks'. The increase in the deaths resulting from the attacks rose from 44 in 1984, to 230 in 1986 and 322 in 1988.[192] This climate has made it more possible for members of trade unions and community organisations to show their allegiance more openly to the ANC.

State repression

The speech of Minister Vlok in May 1986, which was mentioned above, marked a change in the nature of State reform and repression strategies. Several repressive measures have followed since. These include the State of Emergency declared on 12 June 1986, restrictions on trade unions, community organisations and individuals, mass detentions, terrorism trials, media restrictions, banning of events, repressive legislation and the disappearance of many activists.

33 community organisations were restricted in 1988.[193] The State also imposed restrictions on COSATU in February 1988, confining its activities to the workplace. In addition, numerous community activists and unionists have been detained. Between June and December 1986, 614 union leaders, about 80% of them who had COSATU links, and more than 2 000 rank-and-file union members were arrested.[194] In March 1989 it was estimated that approximately 643 people had been restricted under the Emergency regulations since July 1985.[195]

Nearly 56 000 people were detained in terms of the South African security legislation and for other political crimes between 1984 and March 1988.[196] Since 1985 several treason and terrorism trials have been taking place throughout the country such as the so-called Stofile, Delmas, Forbes, and Yengeni trials. Many people have been jailed for politically related public violence offences.[197] The high percentage of detainees under the age of 18 being held under the Emergency regulations led to the establishment of the Free the Children Alliance, a successful Free the Children campaign and an international conference held in Harare.[198]

Further restrictions on media and on reporting by journalists were imposed around the declarations of the States of Emergency. Several publications have come under consistent pressure through periodic suspensions and threats of closure. These publications include *New Era*, *Weekly Mail*, *Grassroots*, *South*, *New Nation* and *Work in Progress*.[199]

Many events organised by extra-parliamentary organisations have been banned during the past four years. The banning of the significant COSATU and UDF initiated national 'Anti-Apartheid Conference' scheduled for 24 October 1988 in Cape Town is an example.[200] When events have been allowed to take place, they have been strictly monitored by the police.

During 1988 the State introduced new restrictive legislation which has had a direct impact on the operation of organisations. Examples of these are the Labour Relations Amendment Act, which curtails union action and which COSATU and NACTU are challenging, and the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act, which affects all organisations receiving funds from foreign donors.[201]

An increasing number of activists have 'disappeared' or been murdered. In a recent report to the Human Rights Commission David Webster, just before his own brutal murder, stated that 8 activists had been assasinated during the period from 2 September 1987 to 5 July 1988.[202]

In summary, community and trade union organisations have in the last four years gone from the experience of mass mobilisation for 'people's power' to that of 'survival' tactics under severe repression. They have had to adapt to both the blatantly coercive measures of the State and the more sophisticated strategies of 'winning the hearts and minds' of the people. Their members have experienced growing poverty and unemployment with a deterioration in their standards of health, housing and welfare. It can be anticipated that both the form of organisations and the content of their programmes have been strongly influenced by the material conditions of the period.

AN OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GREATER CAPE TOWN AREA DURING 1985-1988

In this section socio-economic and demographic trends specifically in Cape Town will be sketched before a more detailed description is given of developments within community organisations.

Greater Cape Town (which extends from Simonstown to Table Bay, Atlantis, Bellville and the fringe of Paarl, Wellington, Stellenbosch, Strand and Somerset West)[203] has experienced rapid population growth and limited economic growth over the last few years. As a result housing, educational and other social services are under increasing pressure. It is projected by urban planners that the majority of the population of Cape Town will in the near future be poorer, younger and less educated.[204]

Greater Cape Town is experiencing the fastest population growth, relative to any of the other metropolitan areas. This exceptional growth is largely the result of increased migration from the poverty-stricken rural areas.[205] The scrapping of the influx control laws in 1985 gave impetus to this trend and to the rapid development of the sprawling township of Khayelitsha. It is predicted that the population of Greater Cape Town will increase from 2 720 000 in 1987 to 3 000 000 in 1990 to 3 800 000 by the year 2000 and to 4 600 000 by the year 2010.[206]

The migration of people into Greater Cape Town has increased pressure on available jobs. The economy of the Western Cape, as with the economy nationally, has not grown significantly. Unemployment is on the increase with an estimated 285 000 of the labour force (i.e. 26,8%) in 1987 not able to find employment in the 'formal sector'.[207] These figures are unlikely to improve and therefore a further deterioration in living conditions will in all probability continue, as the increasing number of TB cases indicates.[208]

In line with State policy a Regional Services Council (RSC) was introduced in Cape Town on 1 July 1987.[209] In addition, several Primary Local Authorities (PLAs) i.e. 18 Municipalities for whites, 28 Management Committees for coloureds and Indians and 7 Black Local Authorities (BLAs) for Africans now exist in the Western Cape. Elections for the PLAs took place throughout the country on 26 October 1988.[210]

The National Management System (NMS) has also been implemented in Cape Town with certain areas having been identified as 'oilspots' for upgrading. Two of these areas are Bonteheuwel and Crossroads. An estimated R100 million has been made available for upgrading Crossroads. Roads, houses, a creche, a community centre and a manpower development centre have been built recently.[211]

The implementation of the JMCs in Cape Town has had serious implications for local community organisations. Bonteheuwel was one of the first areas in the Western Cape which became the focus of a JMC.[212] Soon the residents in Crossroads, Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, Khayelitsha learned that a mini-JMC for the areas, was based at the Old Nyanga Administration Board Offices.[213]

The JMC strategies to coopt township residents have been in evidence in various townships at different times. For example, in 1986 the JMC handed out food parcels and organised soccer tours for children in Atlantis. They credited the Labour Party and the coloured Management Committee with these actions.[214] In Hout Bay the SAP Station Commander called a meeting to form a civic association. It is reported that he said he had contacts 'who could get things right in Hout Bay' and he had R30 000 which he could use in the community if they cooperated.[215]

We will now turn to more specific developments amongst the community organisations during this period.

Resistance and Organisation in Greater Cape Town

The development of mass mobilisation and resistance in the Western Cape has to be seen against the background of the political developments nationally. In this section we highlight 3 important aspects of organisation during that time - squatter struggles, education struggles and the influence of the ANC on organisations.

In the previous Case Study the vast network of community organisations that had developed from the early 1980s in Cape Town was described. These organisations (mostly affiliated to the UDF) together with unions had been at the forefront of the mobilisation of communities in opposition to the State.

During this period from 1985 to 1988 'squatter struggles' were of major significance. Intense battles were waged in squatter areas such as Old Crossroads, KTC, Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement. In March 1985 the State implemented its plan to remove the residents of Old Crossroads to Khayelitsha. Many residents resisted by staging protests. In the ensuing conflict 18 people were killed and hundreds were left injured and homeless.[216] In response to the Western Cape Development Board's (WCDB) promise of 18-month residence permits and help with finding employment if they moved 'voluntarily', plus the abysmal conditions within Crossroads at the time, approximately 35,000 squatters moved to Site C.[217] Residents in Nyanga Extension, Nyanga Bush, and Portland Cement refused the Board's offer and remained where they were.

In 1986 the State managed to move most of the remaining people. Over two days bands of armed vigilantes, allegedly with the aid of South African Defence Force troops and police, carried out what was described as the fastest and cheapest forced removal ever seen. They attacked resisting squatters at Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension, Portland Cement and KTC. During a period of two days between 60 000 and 70 000 people were left homeless and their entire settlements were razed to the ground.[218]

Many welfare, political and other community organisations were drawn into the crises in the squatter communities. In an assessment of the crisis intervention work during 1985 and 1986, Cooper[219] describes the activities of the forty organisations which were involved. In 1985 the Squatter Support Group Ad Hoc Committee formed to coordinate activities of these organisations. There were a wide range of organisations fulfilling various functions. These included running the 'relief centres', providing legal services and financial aid, and providing political education. The crisis raised a number of important political and organisational questions. These included concerns about the politics of relief work which highlighted issues of accountability, power and control.[220]

Conflict within KTC reemerged in January 1988 when, according to the State, 'faction-fighting' broke out in KTC. Within a week 6 people were killed, 400 shacks were razed to the ground and 3 000 people left homeless. A joint monitoring commission of workers, representatives from churches and community organisations was established to halt the civil war.[221] Clashes between the people had been reduced considerably by June of that year, but the conflict has had implications for certain township based organisations whose membership were involved in the fighting. One of the important issues that the conflict highlighted was how to integrate the different organisational forms and cultures of people coming from the traditionally urban and rural contexts so that they can work together.

Another important site of struggle since 1985 was the educational arena. Class boycotts were called by student organisations in protest against the State of Emergency which had been declared in 36 magisterial districts around the country on 10 June 1986. Boycotts started at several schools, colleges and universities on 23 July 1985.[222] The police responded violently as they sjambokked and fired on boycotting students in school grounds and on the streets. Many students were arrested and detained.[223] On the 29 August 1985 violence escalated when the State banned a march to Pollsmoor Prison by leading political figures, leaders of community organisations, religious leaders and students to deliver a message of support to the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.[224] People defied the ban by proceeding with the march which led to severe police action. Within three days of the aborted march approximately 31 people had died and more than 150 were injured, including nine members of the security forces.[225]

When the Department of Education and Culture (DEC) and the police were unable to end the violence and the class boycotts the DEC closed 465 schools in the Western Cape on the 6 September 1985.[226] The closure infuriated parents, teachers and members of the broader community to the extent that they entered school premises and demanded the opening of the schools. Police retaliated by arresting several parents and teachers. Concerned teachers formed the Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) on 29 September 1985 and several parent-teacher-student associations (PTSAs) were also formed. The new organisations saw their role as addressing both the immediate crisis in the schools and longer term educational issues.[227]

On 26 October the government declared a State of Emergency in eight magisterial districts which covered the whole of the Western Cape and part of the Boland.[228] Under the State of Emergency meetings were banned, police detained approximately 400 people, and several activists went into hiding. Final matriculation examinations took place under police guard. In protest against these conditions, several teachers and students refused to participate in the examinations.[229]

In response to State repression residents in many areas of Cape Town held candlelight vigils. There were also solidarity fasts in sympathy with detainees on hunger strikes at Pollsmoor Prison.[230]

In March 1986 the 'education crisis'

throughout the country was the subject of a major conference of anti-apartheid organisations in Durban.[231] It was here that the slogan 'People's Education for People's Power' was adopted and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed. Education had become a major focus of action for a wide range of student, teacher, community and worker organisations.[232]

In early 1986 in the Cape Town area there were three major school student coordinating structures i.e. the Joint SRC's which represented the African township schools; the Athlone Student Action Committee (ASAC) which had a 'non-aligned' political stance; and a looser alliance of UDF-leaning student action committees in areas such as Bonteheuwel, Manenberg, Mitchells Plain and Northern Suburbs. By the end of 1986, according to Bloch, the student groupings agreed to unify under the Western Cape Student Congress (WECSCO), which was formally launched in May 1987. In April 1987 the launch of Western Cape NECC occured under semi-clandestine conditions.[233]

Struggles in schools have continued around particular issues such as opposition to the 'multi-racial' school sports at Langa High in early 1987 and defence of Mr Carelse, the principal of Glendale in Mitchells Plain. There have also been centrally coordinated initiatives such as cultural events, the 'hands off our schools campaign',the annual Winter School, the campaign to re-open Langa High and the 3 days of protest action on 25-27 July 1988 which involved 120 000 pupils at 90 schools.[234] This latter action brought to a head student grievances around the harassment of student and teacher organisations, suspension of teachers, student detentions, systems of checks on students as they entered school grounds, and the February restrictions on organisations, including the NECC.[235] The actions at the schools have highlighted the need for unity amongst teachers in their opposition to apartheid education. In the last two years the process of 'unity talks' has been underway amongst the CTPA and the newer progressive teacher organisations.

Another important political development has been the increased status and activity of the ANC locally. Allegiance to the ANC has been demonstrated openly through, for example, funerals of activists at which pro-ANC speeches have been made and where ANC flags have been displayed. In addition, since 1986 certain ANC military cells in the Western Cape have been discovered and activists, allegedly involved in guerilla attacks have been arrested and brought to trial.[236] Examples of the guerilla activity are the bomb blasts at Mowbray police station, D.F.Malan airport and at a Newlands bus stop.[237] Seven alleged ANC guerillas were killed by police in a shoot-out in Guguletu on 3 March 1986 and 30 000 people were reported to have attended their funeral.[238]

The effects of repression on community organisations

The most marked feature of the period 1985-1988 is the high levels of State repression under which community organisations have been forced to operate. In this last section, the aim is to identify some of the affects that the repressive climate has had on community organisational practices.[239]

There is broad acknowledgement among activists that the States of Emergency have weakened organisations. Some organisations initially found themselves in a state of disarray. With many key activists incarcerated and 'in hiding', several organisations were unable to meet.[240] Many organisations were reluctant to call meetings and many members were reluctant to attend. This led to a temporary suspension of activities within a number of organisations. Several organisations were forced to discontinue their more overtly public political activities. This is evident in the notable decrease in the number of mass meetings, rallies and campaigns since late 1985 by comparison to the period from 1980 to 1985. Even the lower-profile political activities were curtailed as activists admitted that repression had made it difficult for them to hold house meetings.[241] Since repression had prevented organisations from engaging in public activities they were forced to seek alternative strategies.

In many instances, organisations have had to learn to operate more discreetly. Learning to 'live in the shadows' is a description for the semi-clandestine manner of operation which several organisations have been compelled to adopt. Examples of successful semi-clandestine operations are the launches of organisations such as South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) and the UDF Women's Congress. Amongst certain activists there is a confidence that they have mastered the techniques of secret, underground work.[242]

Because activities and campaigns of an overt political nature have become virtually impossible, and because of the socio- economic conditions, organisations have developed new 'spaces' within which to work. As mentioned previously, these include cultural work and work within a wide range of professions, income generation and provision of social services. Thus a wider range of organisations, as compared to the early 1980s, has become involved in various forms of community work.

Another change in activity or in priority of certain organisations has been the increased emphasis on a 'post- apartheid' South Africa. With the growing prominence of the ANC, as mentioned earlier, there has been more interest in and promotion of work in policy formulation. Many more people working in both service organisations, universities and mass-based organisations are engaging in research and discussions around the future possibilities for South Africa and in research projects geared towards future policy.[243]

An additional strategy has been to call conferences and meetings of a wide range of organisations and prominent people in order to keep issues alive. Some organisations who have not been banned or restricted have had to provide the platform for issues to be addressed. For example, a number of university-based conferences have been organised in close consultation with activists and organisations.[244]

Organisations have also begun to challenge repressive State actions through the courts more regularly. For example, MOYCO and GAYCO were prevented from staging a meeting in protest against the 1988 October elections. However, after an interdict was sought from the Supreme Court the meeting proceeded the following week.[245]

The detention of leadership has affected community organisations in a number of different, both positive and negative ways. It has on the one hand, given rise to the formation of new layers of leadership within organisations. On the other hand, new leadership has often been inexperienced, and this has led to a break-down in communication within and between organisations.[246] One of the major challenges has been the establishment and maintenance of communication channels between underground leadership, the remaining above-ground leadership and the larger membership. This has not been easy.

The repressive context has made participatory democratic practices that were described in Case Study One very difficult to implement. Repression has forced leaders or executive members to take decisions on behalf of the larger membership within organisations. This has led to a further contestation over the meaning of 'democratic' practices within organisations under the present conditions.

In contrast to the early 1980s, when education was closely linked to participatory democratic practices and mass action such as campaigns and protests, the promotion of internal education and training of members within community organisations has become increasingly important. Training and development in organisational and management skills have been emphasised in several new courses and programmes.[247] Service organisations and universities have played an increasingly important role in providing such training to mass-based and other community organisations. A further noticeable trend has been the development of longer term theoretically more rigorous educational courses rather than shorter ad hoc educational workshops.[248] Nonformal education has become more established as an important aspect of organisational work.

IN CONCLUSION

The period from 1985 to 1988 has seen a paradoxical set of circumstances for community organisations. While there have been unprecedented levels of mobilisation of anti-apartheid forces, there has also been severe repression of organisations and activists. While there have been increasingly sophisticated strategies to contain opposition, the extra-parliamentary, anti- apartheid forces have grown in stature. While many community and trade union organisations have been battered by the State, with many at times barely able to survive, other new organisations have proliferated. In late 1988, rather than organisations buckling and folding under the pressure of the State it appears that they are reemerging stronger, more tenacious, resilient and more determined to achieve a nonracial democratic future.

The present complex set of socio-economic and political conditions, which are shaped by regional, national and international developments have created the space in which organisations are able to operate today. It is and has been important for organisations to understand this 'space' in order to use it most effectively.[249] As Hobsbawm said: 'If we are to change the world, we must know what the conditions of our struggle are, not what they were or ought to be.'[250]

A SYNOPSIS OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

YEARS	TOTAL	CIVIC	COMMUNITY WORK	CULTURAL	EDUCATION RESEARCH RESOURCE AND IINFORMATION	POLITICAL	STUDENT AND YOUTH	WOMEN
1859-1956	9		2		16	2	2	7
1957-1963	17		2		11	2	2	
1964-1969	11				9		2	
1970-1975	39	1	12	2	16	2	5	1
1976-1979	47	1	4	9	25	1	4	3
1980-1982	69	6	1	5	43	2	7	5
1983-1984	39		1	7	19	4	7	1
1985	59			1	38	6	13	1
1986	34	3	1	2	17	3	4	4
1987	27	1		2	17	3	3	1
1988	21			3	7	10	1	
Unknown	26	2		3	14	1	4	3

CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 Civic associations are established to deal with civic issues such as rents, evictions, bus fare increases and other local matters affecting their membership. Therefore under the MAIN ACTIVITIES column we have given examples of those issues around which civics have campaigned which are in addition to their usual activities.

2 Three federal civic structures exist in Cape Town to which certain civic bodies have affiliated. There are also independent civics. We have not listed the affiliates seperately, but have placed them under their 'umbrella bodies'.

3 The year of establishment has been given for the federal structures not the individual affiliates. This is inclined to give an incorrect impression as some of the civics are known to have been established as far back as the 1940s. Detailed information on the individual civics was not obtained.

4 The data presented here reveals a dramatic increase in civic activity from the late 1970s. In 1979 the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, a traditional ally of the NEUM, was born. In 1980 the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, later to become affiliated to the UDF, was established. The Western Cape Civic Association, which serves civics in the African townships, was established in 1982.

5 4 new civic organisations have been formed since 1985.

6 One of the limitations of the survey is that it does not reflect current levels of activity within civics. We know that the states of emergency have adversely affected the activities of several civics.

7 Data on the affiliation and disaffiliation of civics from the umbrella structures does change periodically therefore the information given here could soon become outdated.

CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Schotschekloof Civic Association	1972-	To be a part of the greater struggle and the Liberation Movement To struggle for complete and total change	Fought against planned freeway through Bo-Kaap running through Muslim cemetery Fought rent increase Resale of house to the people Demand for civic hall, swimming pool	124 Church Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Federation of Cape Civic Associations	1979-	To co-ordinate and strengthen the struggle to achieve proper and effective local authority representation on the basis of an unsegregated roll and an equitable non disecrminatory evaluation and rating, also to establish, unite and strengthen civic associations	Campaign - housing, rent, rates, maintenance, anti-SAICC Busfare protest, constitutional proposals, Presidents Council protest Disorderly Bill Action Committee (DBAC)	P.O. Box 185 ATHLONE 7764
Affiliates of the Federation of Cape Civic Associations		Vanguard Civic, Belmont Park Civic, Wynberg Civic, Elsies River Civic, Kuilsriver, Heathfield and District Civic, Gleemoor Cape Flats Civic, Heideveld Civic, Lansdowne Civic, Modderdam Civic, Kraaifontein, Athlone Civic, Worcester Civic, Matroosfontein Civic		
Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC)	1980-	To assist with the establishment of community organisations where these are non-existent and to strengthen all community organisations To act as an inter-community forum To act as a reference centre for communities To strive towards unified action on housing and related issues affecting communities To work toward co-ordinating the activities of all the areas	Rents campaign Busfare increases campaign Electricity campaign Housing deal protest Anti Constitutional Proposals campaign	P.O. Box 42 SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 5657
Affiliates of the Cape		Combined Lentegeur and Beacon Valley Residents Association (COLBRA); Bellville South Housing Action		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Areas Housing Action Committee		Committee; Hanover Park Civic Association; Kensington-Factreton Ratepayers Association; Lotus River-Grassy Park Residents Association; Rocklands Ratepayers Association; Steenberg Residents Association; Belhar Civic Association; Houtbay Action Committee; Lavender Hill Residents Association; Westridge Ratepayers Association; Woodlands Residents Association; Surrey Estate Civic Association; Heideveld Civic Association; Elsies River, Ravensmead and Uitsig Civic Association; Manenberg Civic Association; Paarl Huurders Vereeniging; Silvertown Residents Association; Valhalla Park Tenants Association		
Electricity Petition Committee of Mitchells Plain (EPC)	1980-1983	To have the City Council change the electricity account due date to the 7th of the month when people can afford to pay	Survey to find out how much profit City Council makes in electricity account penalties Campaign demanding change of due date	
Umbrella Rentals Committee (CAHAC grew out of this committee)	1980	To fight the problem of increased rents	Rent increase Rent boycott Meat boycott	
Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown, Kewtown Residents Association (BBSK) (Disaffiliated from Cahac 1983) (Defunct)	1981-	To strive for better living conditions, increased facilities and the development of the area in the interest of all residents To investigate complaints and problems of residents related to community issues and to attempt to resolve them To work towards greater control by residents over the running of the area including the right to direct representation on the Municipal, Divisional and Provincial councils and any other issue affecting residents deemed necessary by the association To build unity by breaking down the barriers that separate residents To stand together on all issues affecting residents	Protest rent inceases and maintenance costs Delegation to City Council - re electricity Workshops on tenants problems	
Western Cape Civic Associations	1982-	To see to the welfare of the community	Fight for leasehold rights Abolition of coloured labour	P.O. Box 153 MANENBERG

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To fight the injustices and malpractices of the local authorities	preference policy Fight against busfares Fight against puppet organisations (community councils) Fight against evictions Fight against the harassment of residents by the Administration Board (taken to court on a number of occasions)	7767
Affiliates	Langa Civic, Guguletu Civic, Nyanga Civic, Mbekweni Civic, Khayelitsha Residents' Organisation.			
Woodstock Saltriver Walmer Estate Residents Association	1982-	To work for the attainment of the best municipal facilities in the three areas To unify and strengthen the struggle to achieve effective municipal representation on a democratic basis To further the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa by discussions and or lectures on the social, political and cultural issues of our time Enhance the struggle for a full, free and uniform education system in SA	Pine Street Evictions Silvertree Creche	
Bishop Lavis Action Committee (Disaffiliated from Cahac 1983)			Campaign for electricity	
Cape Muslim Vigilance Association				
Elsies River Co-ordinating Committee	1985-	To co-ordinate the activities of the community organisations set up during struggle of '85		

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Bo-Kaap Action Group (BO-KAG)	1986-	An alliance of 15 community organisations set up to fight the building of high-cost housing in Bo-Kaap which does not meet the housing needs of the area and which	Media, rallies, house visits delegations etc.	

121

122

COMMUNITY WORK ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 The organisations listed here are those which are independently funded and either involved in social welfare type activities or social change programmes for which 'community workers' have been employed.

2 Community work as a form of social work became popular in the Western capitalist countries in the 1960s and 1970s. Community Work in Cape Town was strongly influenced by developments in Britain and North America.

3 In Cape Town the period from 1970 to 1975 saw a dramatic rise in the number of community work agencies. Eleven were born during this time, nine of which were linked to religious groups and one collection of projects came out of the BCM. Private enterprise funded the establishment of two agencies i.e. Foundation for Social Development (FSD) and Build a Better Society (BABS). In the latter part of the 1970s three more community work agencies were established. It would appear that in the late 1970s community action and community organisation came to be adopted as more appropriate forms of oppositional activity. There was a dynamic growth of civic bodies, for example, from 1979. Community work also seemed to become more institutionalised in the late 1970s with some welfare organisations appointing 'community workers'.

4 The survey shows that 3 new community work organisations have been formed in the 1980s. While few specific 'community work' organisations have been formed in the 1980s in contrast to the 1970s, the community work functions have increasingly become part of other organisations. Particularly since 1985, in response to the growing poverty, many organisations have initiated social service and income-generation projects as part of their work.

COMMUNITY WORK ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Cape Town City Mission	1902-	Evangelical, Protestant Missionary Organisation	Evangelistic, teaching, counselling Relief Work	P.O. Box 2114 CLAREINCH 7740
TOCH H	1925-	To help individuals who need help and friendship especially people not reached by other welfare organisations and in doing so encourage them to be guided by any situation in understanding others' points of view To draw bridges between the different existing groups	Visiting the elderly and the lonely Talking to deprived people and making them see that they are needed and wanted Initiated Citizen's Advice Bureau Childcare centre in Hanover Park	21 Brampton Road PLUMSTEAD 7800
Quaker Service	1961-	Promotion of community inspired self-help groups Alleviate the plight of the destitute who are referred by social workers, community workers and organisations who have investigated the case	Preschool Care Project Self Help Projects (sewing groups etc.) Educational (tertiary) when finance allows Nutritions Projects (preschools) Child Care (Educare)	Mrs Cheryl Barratt (Sec.) Quaker House Rye Road MOWBRAY 7700
Christian Institute of South Africa (Banned)	1963- 1977	Uniting Christians on an individual basis and making Christianity more of a living force Seeking social justice Literacy and service projects of self-reliance to motivate communities Teaching of skills Bursaries and school equipment	Seminars/winter, summer, open schools Regular Newsletter Central library Surveys into labour conditions Publications	
Catholic Welfare Bureau (CWB)	1970-	To build up poor communities and to work towards the eradication of the causes of poverty	Cape Credit Union League Cape Knitting and Spinning (co-operative) Old Age Homes	37A Somerset Road CAPE TOWN 8000
Diakonale Dienste	1970-	The spiritual social and economical care and uplifting of underprivileged	Child and family life social work - doing case group and comunity work	Rev. S.G. Pick Private Bag 1

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		coloured families, children and adults in need of care in their working area	- institutional work 4 children's homes, 1 rehabilitation centre 2 special schools and 1 centre for unmarried pregnant mothers	BELHAR 7500
Black Community Programmes (Banned)	1972-1977	To help the black community become aware of its own identity, create a sense of its own powers and organise itself	Youth programme Literacy programme Health centres Market handicraft good	
Build A Better Society (BABS)	1973-	To establish self-help programmes through the communities own initiative and efforts To promote community involvement and participation through the encouragement of self-help programmes and projects To develop human potential through the utilization of resources To act as a catalyst between community and resources To promote and organise preventative and development programmes through structural non-formal training and education programmes To acknowledge, promote and stimulate the consciousness and human awareness of people To increase the quality and standard of life of every individual in the area of operation	Educare Centre Youth club Senior citizens club Art classes and instruction Housing advice Education programmes - study skills, accounting course, career development programmes	P.O. Box 271 ATHLONE 7764 Pegarus Centre Aster Road KEWTOWN
Community Action Trust	1973-1976	Try and relate issues of a political nature affecting black communities	Bus fares protest Bus fare Action Committee	Mr Achmat Davids Muslim Assembly NEWFIELDS
Open Door	1973-	Project of the Churches Urban	Resturaunt	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
	1984	Mission in Claremont aimed at providing a place where people of all races could sit and have a meal at low prices	Over 60's club Sewing classes Literacy classes Kupugani shop	
Churches Urban Planning Commission	1974-	To provide training in community development work To do community work as urban and industrial mission of the main participating churches	Training courses Workshops/seminars	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 1477/8
Compassion	1974-	To promote self-help amongst the underprivileged through teaching the making, selling and use of the Wonderbox and Wonderoven and promoting the use of soya beans	Sell wonderboxes Demonstrations - use of wonderbox wonderoven and soya beans	Barnard St RONDEBOSCH 7700
Veritas Closed	1974- 1983	To assist the underprivileged people of the Western Cape, particularly the homeless and inadequately housed, by encouraging the formation of residents' committees in the various affected areas Facilitating communication and liaison between the people and the authorities Initiating, facilitating and supporting unemployment projects Assisting people in the development of leadership, organisation and community services towards self-sufficiency	Liaison with leadership in the squatter areas Providing resources Meat and bus boycotts Contact with legal groups	
Western Cape Foundation for Community Work (FCW)	1974-	Promotion of pre-school provision of pre-school services for disadvantaged and deprived communities Encourages involvement of parents at all levels of the organisation Training of para-professional Educare personnel	Pre-school education programmes Training programme of pre-school personnel Library Research Finance	Beulah Fredericks PH: 637 9148/637 9153 P.O. Box 89 CRAWFORD Early Learning Centre Springbok Street KEWTOWN

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Development of leadership skills and self-help programmes Encourages the development of innovative models in early childhood education Training of financial administration to stimulate sound financial control FCW believes in equal opportunities for all children in a non-racial democratic society		
Foundation for Social Development (FSD)	1975-	To provide community education that will increase people's sense of individual and collective ability, confidence and self-esteem To encourage participation in programmes which are geared towards self-help and which can be self-generating	Neigbourhood Learning Centre which has an Educare Centre, Youth programmes and Non-formal Adult Education	P.O. Box 186 ELSIES RIVER
Islamic Council of SA	1975-	To amalgamate all Muslim organisations and be their sole spokesman To formulate, direct and promote their interest in accordance with Islam	Legal Committee Social-educational committee Seminars and conferences Publish 'The Muslim Statesman' Publish 'Islamic council of South Africa News letter'	c/o Shayk Abu Baw Najaar Muir Street Mosque CAPE TOWN 8001
Jaame Association	1976-	To foster and implement Islamic economic principles in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah To provide a viable alternative to existing financial institutions which operate on an interest free basis To strive for the creation of an interest-free society	Gives financial assistance to rehabilitation and welfare institutions Creates medical aid and pension schemes Publishes 'Jaame Review'	Masjid Salaam St Athens Road ATHLONE 7764
Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens (MAG)	1976-	As an ecumenical Christian group, which affirms the humanity of all, the MAG will work together with the	Activities: It runs a wide range of projects and programmes ranging from child and family care to	18 Buitenkant Street MONTAGU Ph: 0234 4-1175

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		community for its spiritual, cultural, social, economic and political development Through a process of concentration, training and organization people will achieve better control over their lives and their community	community groups to feeding schemes to co-operatives	0234 4-2619 Regional Office 0234 5-1800
South African National Zakaat Fund	1977-	To propogate the concept of Zakaat (annual 2% tax) and the role it plays in the spiritual and temperal development of the community To create Islamic awareness according to the Islamic law To collect and distribute Zakaat and Sadaqah (charity) according to Islamic law	Collecting of the Zakaat and Sadaqah Establish home industries operation fitrah, seminars and community projects such as legal advice centres, medical aid clinics, labour bureaux and day care centres	Bridgetown Mosque Cornflour Road BRIDGETOWN 7764
Islamic Da'wah Movement	1978-	To establish Islam as a way of life To propagate Islam among the non-Muslims especially the indigenous groups	Missionary activities and publications related to its sphere	Room 6 Raymo Building Cnr Ruth & Klipfontein Roads RYLANDS 7764
Woodstock Advice Office	1982-	To establish and maintain a community based progressive advice office	Giving advice Liaising with community organisations Participating in the Advice Office Forum	Amy Thornton P.O. Box 115 SALT RIVER 7925 PH: 47 8112
New World Foundation	1984-	A community development organisation operating in Lavender Hill, Vrygrond and the immediate surrounding areas The ethos behind the operation of the NWF is that the development of the people can only take place if it is done by the people in the communities	Childcare and educare Community education and training Leadership and youth leadership Community development Gardening Income generation and cooperative Skills training Advice Office	Sue Anderson Ph: 72 4885 P.O. Box 290 STEENBERG 7947 Grindal Avenue

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		themselves This development is based on an educational process, resulting in the liberation of the poor and oppressed aimed at the transformation of the society It is through these processes of liberation, education and transformation that development also becomes a concrete sign of the coming of the Kingdom of God in this world of ours in a very authentic and humane way	Social and community work Community kitchen	LAVENDER HILL
Masizakhe Self-help Development Programme	1986-	To create a sense of self reliance amongst under privileged communities To encourage the development of practical projects	Co-operatives Skills training	P.O. Box 11 LANSDOWNE

CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 The cultural organisations which are listed here are mostly those which focus both on art, drama, music, writing or poetry and broader social and political issues. We have not included all the organisations which engage in the arts for their own sake, for example, ballet and painting groups.

2 It is interesting to note the upsurge of interest in cultural organisations between 1976 to 1979. This period saw a sizeable increase in the number of cultural organisations partcularly in the African townships. These included the Community Arts Project, Sisonke Cultural Movement, Zolani Drama Group, Abantu Arts Association, Ntsikana, Nyanga Arts Centre, Ravensmead Youth Library Action Committee, and Sea View Cultural Society. We can reasonably assume that the influence of the BCM played some part in the formation of some of these organisations.

3 Between 1980 and 1985 twelve new cultural organisations were formed. Seven of these were formed from 1983 and their formation could have been influenced by the important 'Culture and Resistance' festival which was organised in Botswana in July 1982. Certain of the organisations formed during this time stress the link between cultural and political activity.

4 Between 1985 and 1988 eight new cultural organisations have been formed. The reason for the continued proliferation of cultural organisaitons has to do with, on the one hand, the ongoing exploration of 'cultural work' in its own right. On the other, cultural work has gained impetus under the repressive conditions of the states of emergency. Several organisations which have been prevented from organising in an overtly political way have developed 'cultural work' as a vehicle for sustaining organisation under repression.

5 The increased momentum of cultural work has given rise to numerous cultural events since 1986. For example, a 'People's Cultural Festival', which was scheduled for December 1986 in Cape Town and was banned at the last minute, mobilised widespread participation from local cultural workers in its preparation. There was also a cultural festival which was held in Holland 1987 in which several South African artists participated.

6 The search for safe and legal 'organisational spaces' as well as local and international foci on the development of the role of culture in South Africa have thus provided the context in which organisations such as the Cultural Workers Congress, Congress of South African Writers and cultural desks within the UDF and COSATU have been formed and shaped. Since 1986 the interpretation of concepts such as 'people's culture' and 'cultural worker' have been the centre of much debate.

7 A major development has occured within the sports arena with the establishment of the National Sports Council (NSC) within the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) during 1988. Formed initially as a pressure group within SACOS to challenge the latter's political role, the NSC is currently considering the ablishment of a sports coordinating body independent of the SACOS structure.

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Hanover Park Drama Society	1973-		Product of 'What hurts me	
Qavane Family Music	1974-	To share music talents with others	Music, coffee bar, tours, broadcasting	Ny 129 no. 9 GUGULETU 7750
Community Arts Project (CAP)	1977-	Committed to the transformation of our society into one which is more just; where the wealth of our country is distributed more fairly and where the aspirations and interests of the majority are reflected in the political economic, social and educational structures of our society Committed to the struggle for democracy in our country and believes that it must pursue and practice democracy in terms of its own structures and methods of operation within the parameters of its organisational definition as a non-formal education and training institution in the arts Committed to forging and practicing forms of education and training in the arts which will empower and raise the quality of life of particularly those who have been disadvantaged and disempowered under the present order Committed to the development and practice of progressive forms of education and training in the arts that will encourage participation, self-confidence, discipline, a sense of responsibility, commitment and critical consciousness Locates itself within and will seek	Arts Workshops Classes in different activities Community theatre programme Full-time Arts Media training Course Community theatre	P.O. Box 168 RONDEBOSCH 7900 Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 8640 106 Chapel Street Woodstock 8001 Ph: 45 3689/45 3648

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		to build relationships and cooperate with the broad democratic movement irrespective of ideological tendency CAP believes that its educational aims and its commitment to the development of progressive culture will be best served by adopting a non-secretarian position. While CAP staff and trainees may be involved in whatever political organisations they choose to, CAP - like other education and training institutions - will remain non-aligned Committed to the pursuit, development and dissemination of progressive values such as sharing, democracy, community, respect for human life and dignity, respect for differing views and the like Rejects racism in all its forms and believes that in its work, structures and policies, it must seek to counter and correct discrimination in terms of "race", language and cultural background Rejects sexism in all its forms and believes that in its work, structures and policies, it mst seek to counter and correct discrimination on the basis of sex Committed to the pursuit and development of new aesthetics - new forms of art, new methods of creating and disseminating art, new models for critiquing and evaluating art, new aesthetic tastes and values, and new ways of facilitating education and training in the arts - which reflect the values, ideas and beliefs inherent in our commitment to and		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		view of a new, more just order		
Sisonke Cultural Movement	1978- 1979	To conserve, promote and develop black culture and thereby awaken self-pride and improve the quality of life of black people	Music workshops Writer's workshops	
Zolani Drama Group	1978-	To keep students away from the streets To promote the standard of music and drama	Music, drama, films	NY 101, no. 40 GUGULETU 7750
Abantu Arts Association	1979-	To promote the performance and love of indigenous cultural arts including visual art and other arts of whatever nature among the people	Arts festival Workshops Cultural and Educational lectures	
Ntsikana	1979-	To share skills spiritually and musically	Xylophone, marimba and drum playing Tribal dancing Drama	NY 103 no. 69 GUGULETU 7750
Nyanga Art Centre	1979-	To provide art facilities for all members of the community of people living in the Cape Peninsula	Paintings Young Adult Drama Music Workshops Classes in different activities Sewing Self-help co-operative	Nyanga Art Centre Cnr Qumbu and Cala Rds NYANGA
The Peoples Space	1979- 1983	To enhance the involvement of the black community To encourage blacks to use the Space To teach drama in the communities	Performing relevant drama Holding Workshops Creating space for local and non-local plays	
Ravensmead Youth Library Action Committee (Rylac)	1979-	To encourage art through the formation of workshops and to cater for the cultural needs of the Youth	Debating society Children's drama Modern Jazz Creative dance movement People's theatre	

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Sea View Cultural Society	1979-1980	To let children participate in cultural activities	Ballet classes Modern Jazz classes Painting Drama and leatherwork classes	
Black Literature and Arts Congress	1980-	To publish the cultural work of oppressed and exploited black cultural workers		James Mathews C/o S & S Printers Belgravia Road Athlone 7764
Film Education Unit	1980-	To use film for education To organize the Cape Town Festival for the month of April each year	Cape Town international film festival Restrospectives on the work of visiting film makers Assorted film programmes spread throughout the year, e.g. Greek film week Training workshops in film making Promoting indigenous cinema Resource centre	Film Education Unit PH: 23 8257
Ocean View Pen Circle	1980-	To promote writing	Writing and reading poetry Teaching of art Cultural afternoon	C/o P.O. Box 116 HOUT BAY
Nobuntu Music Group	1981-	To promote a high standard of music To share music skills with others	Music, coffee bars, luncheons wedding songs	NY 103 no 57 GUGULETU 7750
Bishop Lavis Cultural Society	1982-	To cater for the cultural needs of the people To help develop the skills and talents the people have To bring to the people not alien culture, but that which is relevant and with which they can identify	Art, music, dancing, drama and written works	P.O. Box 67 MATROOSFONTEIN 7490
Loyiso Music Group	1983-	To promote the stardard of music	Plays, music, concerts and	NY 3 no 13

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
			broadcasting	GUGULETU 7750
Teenage Harmonies	1983-	To promote the standard of music and to keep members away from the street	Music, films, tours and broadcasting	NY 78 no. 27 GUGULETU 7750
Thembaletu Drama Group	1983-	To entertain and care for the elderly	Music, films, jumble sales visiting the elderly and cleaning their places Giving out food parcels and clothes	N.Y. 105 GUGULETU 7750
Cultural Action Group	1984	To develop and support democratic, co-operative and non-exploitative cultural activities To bridge the divisions between various specialisations including that between cultural production and study To undertake such activities as are incidental or conducive to the above To strive for consensus in all decisions made in the organisation	Educational discussions and lectures Media programmes Political education	
Drama Outreach Project	1984-	To use drama as a self-awareness vehicle To encourage groups or individuals to use their strengths to create To work with the handicapped and encourage them to use their strengths to the best of their abilities To help amateurs to build their talents	Going out to groups and working with them Helping playwrights to develop their work	4 Virginia Avenue VREDEHOEK 8001
Lingelihle Drama Group	1984-	To keep students away from the streets and to promote the standard of music	Music, films, drama	41 Washington Avenue LANGA
Vakalisa	1984-	To encourage people to get involved	Providing skills	C/o Community Arts Project

147

148

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		with art and work collectively with others in their own communities Co-operation with other cultural groups who share a common progressive ideology	Exhibitions Calendar Community Museum Project	P.O. Box 168 RONDEBOSCH 7700 Ph: 45 3648
Western Cape Arts Collective	1985-	To unite progressive cultural bodies in the Western Cape To oppose all forms of oppression and class exploitation To encourage and promote creative talents existing in the communities of the Western Cape To work towards greater collectivity amongst various progressive cultural groups and workers To create a forum and information network for cultural workers in an attempt to break isolation		C/o Community Arts Project P.O. Box 168 RONDEBOSCH 7700 Ph: 45 3648
Cape Flats Cultural Society				
Cape Town North Cultural Society				
Lansdowne Madressa Cultural Society				
Latin American Solidarity Network (LUCHA)	1986-	To counteract the disinformation about Latin America To express solidarity with Latin American Struggle and to raise the consciousness of our commities about these struggles	Seminars, publications Talks, slides & tape shows	P.O. Box 344 SALT RIVER 7925 Ben Ph: 64 2551
Musical Action for Peoples Power (MAPP)	1986-	To provide a forum for the exposition of creative, progressive peoples culture	Workshops, seminars gigs, exposition on peoples culture	P.O. Box 15296 VLAEBERG 8000

149

150

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To encourage the development of a peoples culture		Ph: 71 5449
Congress of South African Writers - Western Cape Region (COSAW)	1987-	To organise South African writers To list writers to community and worker organisations To provide a forum for aspirant writers To protect writers against state action and harrassment	Workshops for writers Seminars Community activities, i.e. children workshops, participation in community action programmes Journal - AKLA	Arnold House 45 Belgravia Road ATHLONE 7764
South African Tertiary Institutions (SATISCO)	1987-	To promote the principle and practice of non-racial sport at tertiary institutions		C/o SRC Peninsula Technikon P.O. Box 1906 BELLVILLE 7535
BUCHU Books	1988-	To open up a space for some of the many voices that are beginning to speak as part of the process of cultural liberation in South Africa To explore different approaches to publishing, informed by a progressive political vision	Publication of written materials	Karen Press P.O. Box 2580 CAPE TOWN 8000
Cultural Workers Congress	1988-	To unite all those involved in creative activity in one national cultural workers organisation To establish democratic, community based cultural programmes aimed at empowering the innate creativity of all people To organise educational programmes that will deepen our understanding of our work, society, history and cultural heritage To join arms with national and international organisations involved in the struggle against apartheid and exploi-	Seminars, exhibitions, workshops	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		tation and to help build a united, democratic, non-racial S.A.		
National Sports Congress (NSC)	1988-	To act as a pressure group within SACOS		

EDUCATION, RESEARCH, RESOURCE AND INFORMATION ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 The 'silent' 1960s. The research confirmed that there was relatively little organisation in the 1960s. The main activityseemed to be around education, research and information with 12 organisations identified as having been established from the late 1950s to 1969. Four of the twelve organisations were linked to religious i.e. Christian and Muslim organisations. They are the Christian Education Leadership and Training (CELT), the Board of Social Responsibility, the Muslim Assembly and the Majlisush Shura Al Islami. The Athlone Advice Office and the Citizen's Advice Bureau were concerned with civil rights, and the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) was established as an alternative educational institution. Other voluntary associations in this category were concerned with social welfare and individual therapy e.g. Lifeline.

2 The reasons for the proliferation of education, research, resource and information organisations during the period under study are varied and difficult to define without careful research. One speculative reason may relate to the changing class composition of people in the Western Cape during this period. During the 1970s, there was rapid upward social mobility amongst people classified coloured. Members of voluntary associations, as we discussed in Section Two, are most commonly middle class. Members of organisations concerned with education, research, resources and information will in all probability be people who are highly educated and who have access to resources.

3 Another reason for the proliferation of organisations in this category could be the mass politicisation of education since the school revolt of 1976. The educational institutions have become an important 'site of struggle' since then.

4 Since 1985 there has been a particularly dramatic increase in the formation of new organisations in this category with 82 new education, research, resource and information organisations having been established. Reasons that could help explain this upsurge, besides those mentioned in notes 2 and 3, relate to the levels of repression, the availability of financial resources, the growing confidence in the possibilities for a nonracial, democratic society in the not too distant future, and the deteriorating socio-economic conditions.

5 As a result of repression, many areas of organisation have become less possible. Consequently, new organisational 'spaces' have been sought. Educational work of various kinds including resource provision and research have arisen to fill the 'spaces'. Universities, that had traditionally been seen by activists to be 'ivory towers', have provided some shelter from state repression for some educational resource and research initiatives which link into democratic movement. An example is the move by ERIC into UWC.

6 There has been a dramatic increase in the availability of funding for 'community development' projects that aim to contribute to social change. The inflow of funds from foreign donors has been linked to a number of factors including, amongst others, the sanctions and disinvestment campaigns. The

availability of funds has allowed a wide range of educational projects to be established and it has given impetus to the expansion of already existing educational projects.

7 Repression has given rise to numerous organisations which work to highlight the effects of state repression on individuals and provide support services for those affected, and to monitor the levels of repressive state activity. Examples of these are the Repression Monitoring Group, the Legal Education Action Project and the National Detainees Forum.

8 Several different professional sectors such as lawyers, eachers, social service workers, cultural workers, doctors,nurses, planners, environmentalists and academics have developed organisational structures for themselves. The recognition of the value of professional expertise for certain organisational strategies has resulted in these organisations providing services such as legal aid, counselling and medical assistance to mass-based organisations. Several of these organisations have also begun to recognise their workplaces as 'sites of struggle' and have started to challenge and transform racist and other discriminatory practices and organise within their professions.

9 The area of research has developed as an important focus of activity for several new organisations. Examples are the Manenberg Research Project, the Labour Research Services (LRS) and the proposed Centre for Development Studies (CDS).

10 The area of nonformal education has become increasingly recognised an important area of organisational activity. Several organisations have been established to provide training of various kinds to organisations. Increasingly community organisations seem to have become more concerned with effective and efficient organisational administration and management. Examples of new organisations that are providing services to meet these education and training needs are the Computer Literacy Project (CLIP), the Popular Education Project (PEP) and the formal courses for training adult educators all based within the CACE at UWC, the Cape Education Computer Society (CECS), Using Spoken and Written English (USWE) and Suid-Afrikaanse Geletterdheid (SAG).

11 The increasing rate of unemployment in the greater Cape Town area has given rise to the formation of three new organisations. These are the first organisations to have been established in recent times to specifically address the needs of the unemployed. These organisations work both at the economic and political levels.

EDUCATION, RESEARCH, RESOURCE AND INFORMATION ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Jewish Board of Guardians	1859-	To assist people from the Jewish community that are in distress financially and to provide social work services	Child Welfare Counselling	56 Shortmarket Street CAPE TOWN 8001
1820 Settlers Association	1920-	To assist new English-speaking South Africans to integrate and to become worthy citizens of the Republic	Counselling and welfare Helping to find accomodation and employment	701 Scotts Building 10 Plein Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Organisation for Rehabilitation through training (ORT)	1929-	To promote vocations, technical and related education and training in those countries where the need exists thereby creating economic independence for the underprivileged, handicapped destitute persons and to rehabilitate immigrants or refugees	Raise funds Bursary trust Vocational guidance Career counselling	P.O. Box 3685 CAPE TOWN 8000
SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR)	1929-	To promote inter-racial harmony and further the socio-economic and political development of all communities To promote peace and goodwill among the people of South Africa by means of meetings, conferences	Research Publications/library Educational programmes Bursaries African Art Centre	5 Long Street MOWBRAY 7700
Western Cape Society for Early Childhood	1938-	To promote excellent care and education for all pre-school children	-Handling pre-school educare -Resource and information centre for parents, teachers and field workers -Liaison between National Southern African Association for Early Childhood Educare (OMEP the International Body) and all Early Childhood Educare Centres in the Western Cape	24 Herschel Walk WYNBERG 7800 Ph: 77 6478
Muslim Judicial Council	1945-	To consolidate and strengthen the	Assist educational, social and	Belgravia Road

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		spirit of unity among the Muslims To give legal opinions strictly in accordance with the Quran and Sinah (traditions of the Prophet.) To strive to attain the intellectual, moral, social, cultural, and economic aspirations of the Muslims	economic institutions It has a social work dept	ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 696 5150
Institute of Citizenship	1946-		Weekly lunch-hour discussions	
Young Men's Christian Association	1946-	To unite those men (and women) who regard Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples, in their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men	Christian guidance, evangelism Teaching Personal counselling	25 Stanley Road RONDEBOSCH 7700
Alcoholics Anonymous	1947-	Rehabilitation of alcoholics by alcholics by means of individual or group support	Nightly meetings of alcoholics	57 Shortmarket Street CAPE TOWN 8001 P.O. Box 2047 CAPE TOWN Ph: 24 7559 (24hrs)
Civil Rights League	1948-	To work for civil rights and protest when they are infringed	Discussions/workshops/public meetings Pulications Liaison with media to make the public aware of civil and human rights	P.O. Box 394 CLAREMONT 7735
Alateen	1950-	To give support and information to teenagers to gain a better understanding of alcoholics and so lessen its effect on their own lives, especially children of alcoholic parents	Group meetings daily	57 Shortmarket Street CAPE TOWN 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)	1952-	Religious	Growth in spiritual awareness, generally in South Africa Cape Western Meeting Have Quaker Service and Quaker Peacework	Caroline A Kaplan, Clerk Quaker Service Rye Road MOWBRAY 7700
Branches		Numerous meetings throughout the world. In South Africa:- Cape Western, Johannesburg and Soweto all monthly meeting Natal and Eastern Province regional meeting.		
South Peninsula Educational Fellowship	1954-		Monthly Educational discussions lectures linked to the new unity movement	P.O. Box 17 OBSERVATORY 7925
Family Planning Association	1955-	To supply information, advice counselling on contraception infertility, sex, sexual problems and sex therapy with special emphasis on teenage pregnancies	Teenage clinic Courses on responsible parenthood and responsible sexuality AIDS education	Woodrow Advisory Centre 43 Werdmuller Centre Main Road CLAREMONT
Young Christian Workers (YCW)	1955-	"Movement of working class youth challenging to build the new society and encounter all young workers in the midst of their own situation be it at work, school or unemployed Towards the rights of all being recognised and respected To be responsible for one's own life and the workers struggle for justice Help to discover Jesus Christ as present in our lives and present in the midst of our struggle for justice" To develop a critical analysis of society To show international struggle of working people	Group discussions Education in Leadership Encourage recreational facilities Trade Union Education Solidarity actions with Young Workers in other countries	Cathedral Place 12 Bouquet Street CAPE TOWN 8001
The National Cancer Association of SA	1956-	To educate and inform the public on causes of cancer	Day Care Centres Interim Homes	37a Main Road MOWBRAY

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To promote and subsidise cancer research To arrange professional training and refresher symposiums To render advisory nursing care for terminal patients at home, social work services and stomatherapy	Hospital facilities Counselling patients and families Group work and community Wellbeing clinics organised Papsmear clinics Material assistance through grants Terminal care service Volunteer training programmes Research Hospice care for terminally ill patients, or short term admission of patients to give the care givers a break	7700 Cape Western Branch P.O. Box 186 RONDEBOSCH 7700
Lions Club International	1957-	To create and foster a spirit of understanding among the people of the world To promote the principles of good government and good citizenship To take an active interest in the civic, cultural, social and moral welfare of the community To provide a forum for the open discussion of all matters of public interest, provided however, that partisan politics and sectarian religion shall not be debated by club members To encourage service-minded men to serve their community without personal financial reward, and to encourage efficiency and promote high ethical standards in commerce, industry, professions, public works and private endeavours To unite the clubs in the bonds of friendship, good fellowship and mutual understanding	Food parcels to the needy Transport for the elderly and handicapped Fund-raising for welfare projects Drug and alcohol awareness Diabetes awareness and research	316 CTC Building Plein Street CAPE TOWN 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Black Sash Advice Office (Athlone Advice Office)	1958-	To assist black people in their attempts to cope with the myriad of laws and regulations that govern their lives To educate them regarding their rights To gather accurate information so that Black Sash can continue its fight against unjust laws	Information service for Blacks affected by influx control legislation Information and referral for all sorts of problems encountered such as UIF, Workmens Compensation, Housing Permit Problems and Regal defence for these problems	5 Long Street MOWBRAY 7700
Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA)	1958-	To promote sound marriage and family life through preventative and remedial work	Pre-marital counselling. Marriage counselling for couples and individuals. Family counselling for parents and children. Divorce counselling and mediaton. Post divorce counselling and post divorce support groups. Community Community education through talks, seminars, workshops and groups. Training of professional groups in marriage counselling skills.	814 Groote Kerk Building Adderley Street CAPE TOWN 8001
SA Committee for Higher Education (SACHED)	1958-	Adult Education and non-formal educational projects	Courses and classes for working adults Assistance and tutoring with Unisa studies Producing of magazine 'Upbeat' Education resources	5 Church Street MOWBRAY 7700
Peninsula School Feeding Association	1958-	To provide nutritional feeding for needy school children	Providing nutritional feeding for needy school children	P.O. Box 4055 CAPE TOWN 8000
Defence and Aid Fund Banned	1959- 1966	To assist persons accused of political activities, provide legal defence and practical aid to families	Legal support	
Widows/Widowers Caring Service	1960-	To help solve personal problems - adjustment to aloneness, to financial	Advice and information Regular social meetings	501/503 CTC Building Plein Street

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		change, to accomodation difficulties To improve legislation concerning widows To prevent the exploitation of widows To press for better housing for solitary persons	Newsletter Solace through personal interviews Good clothing and Food cupboard, from which nourishing foodstuff is sold at cost price	CAPE TOWN 8001
Citizen's Advice Bureau	1962-	To inform, advise and assist any person on any matter falling within its competence, subject to any provisions that such information, advice and assistance shall: be free of charge, save that voluntary donations may be accepted, be strictly confidential, not include the provision of any Financial or material help, not be such as would probably fall within the scope of any of the professions	Answering individual questions. Dealing with individual difficulties	516 CTC Building Plein Street CAPE TOWN 8001 Ph: 46 7218/19
Dependants Conference	1963-	To give support and care to political prisoners, detainees, banned persons and their families	Legal support for detainees Monthly grants to families of political prisoners Resthouse for relatives who visit prisoners Food parcels and monthly grants for people termed 'Foreign Africans' while awaiting pension applications	Cowley House 126 Chapel Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Kupugani	1963-	To alleviate poverty and combat malnutrition	Supply nutritional foods to public, creches, old age homes and other institutions at lowest possible prices	25 Church Street WOODSTOCK 7925
Manna Community Food Service	1963-	To alleviate poverty and combat malnutrition	Supplying nutritional foods to public, creches, old age homes and other institutions at lowest possible prices	398 Albert Road SALT RIVER 7925

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Christian Education Leadership and Training (CELT) Defunct	1966-		Leadership Training Educational and consultation Programme	St Michaels Parish Centre Edison Road RONDEBOSCH
Alcoholics Victorious	1967-	To give Christian evangelic counselling and support for alcoholics	Group activities Bible studies Home visits After care residential centres	50A Mathew Road CLAREMONT
Board of Social Responsibility of Anglican Church	1967-	To examine matters involving social responsibility from the standpoint of the Christian Youth To make the Church and wider public aware of the issues involved and to take such action as it deems necessary	Support for the struggles of the poor and oppressed (squatters, workers, etc.) Educational events within the Church (seminars, workshops, talks, etc.)	Church House Victoria Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA)	1967	To promote and further the interests of its members, and to voice collectively their opinions on matters pertaining to education, To strive for improvements in members conditions of service To promote the educational, cultural and social advancement of the community and its members To advance actively the principle of non-racialism in education To encourage the development of the aesthetic aspects of the child's life and to help promote his educational, spiritual and physical development To study matters affecting education and/or make representation with regard to them To advance the objects of the association by disseminating information relevant to education by issuing publications from time to time	Educational social function Spring schools Saturday schools Workshops Social programmes Leadership training Educational outings Bursaries	Paul M. Jordaan General Secretary Private Bag X12 KASSELSVLEI 7537

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		of ethical conduct, profesional intergrity & profesional efficiency, and to co-operate with other established organisations in educational & profesional matters		
		To acquire by purchase, exchange, donation lease or in any other manner movable or immovable property, and/or shares in one or more companies and to dispose of the same by sale or in any such manner and to invest any money of the association in such securities or on such security or borrow against one or more securities of the association as may be approved by conference		
		To promote and/or establish funds or schemes or subsidiary agencies and/or to provide for group insurances whether life or otherwise, medical and other purposes for the benefit of teachers and/or their families or dependants		
		To act generally in the best interest of education in such a manner that it does not conflict with the objects listed above		
		Although CTPA is not a political organisation it fully subscribes to the contention that politics & education cannot be separated from each other and is therefore committed to engage in such political matters that directly or indirectly have a bearing on education		
		It is committed to the struggle to relieve the oppression of the community		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
World Vision of Southern Africa	1967-	A leading Christian development organisation committed to assisting underpriveleged communities It believes that if charity is to prove a vital force for good, the focus must shift from almsgiving to development	Currently involved in some 33 sponsorship (Childcare) projects and 27 specially funded development projects such as income-generating, trades training, production co-operatives	Administrative Secretary World Vision (Western Cape) P.O. Box 67 WYNBERG 7824
Centre for Intergroup Studies	1968-	To promote better knowledge and understanding among political groups in South Africa	Training courses in conflict-management, negotiation and mediationin community and political conflict Consultation and Mediation Research. Negotiating Skills Programme at Funda Centre in Soweto.	Mrs Audrey Allen c/o University of Cape Town 1 University Avenue Upper Campus RONDEBOSCH 7700
Life Line	1968-	To provide a crisis counselling service To train people in counselling Communication skills and personal growth	Training programmes (couselling) Speaking engagements Bargain Shop 24hr telephone counselling Face to face counselling 10h00-16h00 Groote Schuur casualty Saturday evenings	56 Roeland Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Majisush Shura Al Islami	1968-	Wishes for the co-operation of all Muslim organisations to create centralized structures in order to organise the affairs of the Muslim community	Educational projects Adult and children's Islamic classes Draw up syllabi for various Islamic schools Provide counselling service and circumcision clinics (in co-operation with the Islamic Medical Association)	P.O. Box 269 GATESVILLE 7764
Western Province Retirement Council	1969-	To offer all information needed for comprehensive planning for retirement To organise surveys relevant to	Counselling seminars on pre-retirement planning	2033 Nasionale Pers Sentrum Heerengracht 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		promoting first aim To co-operate with employers persons or bodies with similar aims		
Africans Scholars Fund	1970-	To provide financial help for high school African pupils who show academic merit but need money for basic school needs and are domiciled in the Cape Province and the Ciskei	Correspondence to and from pupils, schools and donors A certain amount of negotiations with public, state departments, schools, pupils, parents	P.O. Box 294 RONDEBOSCH 7700
South African Diabetes Association	1970-	To educate diabetics and their families that a better understanding of diabetes will lead to the acceptance and control over the illness	Counselling Camps for diabetic children Literature Lectures Newsletter	Mrs Josina Barnes P.O. Box 4943 CAPE TOWN 8000
Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC)	1970-	To co-ordinate the work and witness of churches To undertake on behalf of churches and religious organizations joint action and service To be doers of the word and not hearers only To care for needs of communities	Justice and Peace Issues Financial aid to community projects Work in the squatter people areas Assistance to political prisoners, detainees and their families (Dependants Conference) Youth co-ordinating church youth. Educ. in the churches dealing with special reference to their role in society Crisis news - Publication on theological matters	Rev. PH Van Den Heever Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925
Justice and Peace Commission	1971-	To assist the church in her striving after true liberation by means of Communication, Research and Analysis Reconciliation and Education	Formation of parish groups Workshops Newsletter	12 Bouquet Street CAPE TOWN 8001
UCT Legal Aid Clinic	1971-	Free legal advice to indigent persons	Advisory	Mrs S Wright c/o Law Faculty Private Bag RONDEBOSCH 7700 Ph: 650 3551 (m.o)

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Branches	Eight sattelite clinics operate throughout the Peninsula			
Wages and Economics Commission	1971-	To organise and educate students around labour issues and to provide support and resources to labour organisations	Labour issues highlighted	SRC University of Cape Town RONDEBOSCH Ph: 650 1020
Early Learning Resource Unit	1972-	To promote and further the interests of disadvantaged and underprivileged pre-school children of all races in South Africa	Pre-school education programmes Training programme of pre-school personnel Library Training of Pre-school sub-committees Training in Financial Administration	Mr I Fredericks (Chairman) Early Learning Centre P.O. Box 89 CRAWFORD 7770 Ph: 637 9146
Grassroots Educare Trust	1972-	To promote the interest of all pre-school children by assisting communities to establish and manage their own pre-school educare centres	Provision of assistance and support to the staff and management of community-run pre-school educare centres Education workshops for pre-school personnel Administration workshops for pre-school executive committees Teacher-aide training pre-school shop and resource Adventure Bus programmes Bursaries programme	350 Victoria Road SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 2546
Metropolitan Action for Citizens	1972- 1974	To highlight civic affairs and relate them to the various community activities	Pre-school education Infill schemes	Mr Achmat Davids Muslim Assembly NEWFIELDS
St Francis Adult Education Centre	1972-	To provide education for adult students at whatever level they require it To provide enrichment and cultural courses for Adults	Courses from literacy level to matric Tutorials for students of Unisa Day school for students repeating matric year Library Non-formal courses	P.O. Box 77 CRAWFORD 7770 Ph: 684 1801

179

180

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Western Province Advice Bureau (Became WP General Workers Union)	1973- 1975	To promote workers organizations To assist workers to realise their rights To assist with the formation of factory committees	Organising workers Offering an advice service	General Workers Union 11 Benbow Building ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 638 2592
Zinatul Islamic Guidance	1973-	To assist illiterate and semi-literate people in dealing with officialdom	Counselling Practical help with family problems Information and advice on grants, pensions, divorce and other related matters	10 Oxford Street WOODSTOCK 7925
Belydende Kring	1974-	Church unity in NGK churches Alternative Theological/Biblical educ. Ecumenical co-operation Christian witness in apartheid society establishing new forms of community	Regional & branch meetings Regional conferences womens meetings Newsletter Quarterly Journal (DUNAMIS)	Prof. CD Cloete (W.UWC) Dr S Govender Ph: 71 6074 P.O. Box 69 PLUMSTEAD 7800
Housewives League of South Africa	1974-	To promote education in consumer research, nutrition and home planning To act as liaison between manufacturers and consumers to ensure standards of quality are maintained and improved To monitor prices of commodities and maintain contact with statutory bodies to urge prices are kept at reasonable levels, e.g. maize, meat, milk and wheat To promote hygiene and clean handling of food in stores	Investigation and Research Shopping Surveys Monthly meetings	P.O. Box 23214 CLAREMONT 7735
SA Voluntary Euthanasia Society	1974-	To work for a gentle death "With dignity" for those afflicted with and incurable or life threatening disease or injury and with adequate relief from pain and discomfort by appropriate treatment	Information and literature	National Secretary SAVES P.O. Box 1460 WANDSBECK 3631 Ph: 031-2668511

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To work for the enactment and beneficial working of any measure seeking to establish a right within properly defined limits, to die peacefully, with dignity and without suffering To publish and distribute a form called "The Living Will" of declaration enabling members and others to make known their wishes with regard to terminal and emergency treatment To press for the inclussion in the curricula of doctors and nurses under training a "specific course on the "care of the dying"		
Western Cape Institute for Social Research	1975-	Conducts research into the history of race relations in SA and in particular into the historical development of the coloured population group	Archive containing books, manuscripts, private documents Journal - Kairos Conference	C/o Institute for Historical Research U.W.C P.O. Box X17 BELLVILLE 7530
Association of Couples for Marriage Enrichment	1976-	Examine and develop the relationship and setting goals for continuing growth through group and couple dialogue	Weekend courses for couples Newsletter (quarterly) Monthly meetings for couples who have attended courses for a year	P.O. Box 2638 CAPE TOWN 8000
Christelike Alkoholiste Diens	1976-	To promote the charity service of Dutch Reformed Church for alcoholics and drug dependents, through mutual support, counselling and prevention service, motivation, therapy, support and aftercare treatment	Counselling and support for alcoholics and their families Group meetings in different areas	54 Toner Street PAROW EAST 7500
MERGE	1976-	To help achieve non-racialism through constant promotion of contact between racially divided people and to work for the establishment of a just non-racial democracy in South Africa	Public meetings Contact Evenings Forum Discussions Monthly meetings for all members Liaison with other organisations	P.O. Box 281 ATHLONE 7760 8 Harmonie Road

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
			working for change	Hazendal ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 637 7858
Muslim Assembly	1976-	To consolidate the Muslim society To assist and upgrade the educational institutions of the Muslim community also Islamic lines	It has educational and social welfare depatments. It sees to the publication materials in the field of Islamic education.	P.O. Box 60 GATESVILLE 7764
Operation Upgrade	1976-	To train people to teach adult illiterates wherever necessary on a voluntary basis	Teacher Training Courses (Literacy) Teaching Adults Organising Centres	Maryland Centre Summit Road HANOVER PARK Ph: 637 4241
South African Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals/ Suid-Afrikaanse Vereeniging Teen Pynlike Eksperimente op Diere (SAAAPEA/SAVTPED)	1976-	To reduce the suffering of animals used in vivisection To eliminate cruelty in the procurement breeding, holding and destruction of all experimental animals To promote by all possible means the substitution of alternatives to the use of animals in vivisection	To brings out into the open facts concerning the use of animals in experiments & testing of products To educate the public in this, Through distribution of leaflets & posters, showing of films & lectures, help to students & scholars with projects and essays on the subject, newsletters & use of alternatives, etc. Participate in international campaigns against	Ms. Mytanwy (Van) Wood Ph: 685 6407 INFO. OFF. Mrs Beryl Scott Ph: 48 9449 Chairman P.O. Box 23430 CLAREMONT 7735 52 The Link CLAREMONT
Urban Foundation	1976-	To promote and co-ordinate involvement by the private sector in the improvement of urban communities in South Africa on a non-political, non-racial basis	Residential development Education and Training Business Development	Utilitas 1 Dorp Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Careers Research and Information Centre (CRIC)	1977-	To help people make informed decisions about work and study Facilitate communication between industry, individuals and educational institutions	Counselling Running workshops for pupils and teachers and designing them Consultation with others planning career programmes	Cnr Klipfontein & Springbok Streets ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 637 8040/1/2

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Empowerment of students, teachers and community workers through training skills workshops on Program Planning and Presentation, Leadership, Counselling and Communications	Producing careers information Industrial education Rural education	
Community Video Resource Association (CVRA)	1977-	To provide video as a means of exploring and promoting an understanding of the widespread social problems that exist in the greater Cape Town areas, that is, in housing, transport, medicine and education To facilitate and develop the use of video as a product in promoting and assisting educational programmes related to community needs To improve communications, create greater understanding, promote new ideas and provoke social change	Community tapes: - Bellville South Housing Action Committee (Housing Conditions) - Bishop Lavis Electricity Campaign - Lavender Hill Advice Office Carnegie Enquiry into Poverty (Paternoster fishing industry) UDF - launching (West Cape) May Day Rally, National Women's Day, Foundation for Community work Child care (Ocean View creche) Community Media (Grassroots different forms of media)	c/o College of Music UCT RONDEBOSCH 7700 PH: 655006
The Crypt Centre	1977-	To provide meals at subsidised prices	Running a restaurant	St George's Cathedral Wale Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Domestic Workers Association (DWA)	1977-	To further the interest of workers in relation to their employers To settle disputes between workers and employers To increase the membership of the organisation To assist workers in obtaining employment To provide, when necessary legal assistance to workers in connection with their employment	Monthly meetings Sewing classes Literacy classes Domestic Science Newsletter	507 Atlantic House Corporation Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Down's Syndrome Association	1977-	To provide a comprehensive early intervention service for all pre-school children who have developed	Developmental and home and class programmes Parent support	73 Van der Stel Street Oakdale BELLVILLE

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		mental delays, and their families Central Services Centre for self-help groups To give support to parents of Down's Syndrome children To educate the public and parents regarding Down's Syndrome	Fellowship gatherings Promoting research Libraries	7530
Breast Feeding Association	1978-	Help and support of the new mother Information and education for mothers Encourage breast feeding	Breast feeding clinics 24hr telephone service Lectures by paramedics Ante-natal lectures	P.O. Box 4055 Old Oar BELLVILLE 7530 Child Care Information Centre Cnr Liesbeeck & Sawkins Rd RONDEBOSCH 7700
Caminploy Staff Service	1978-	To provide employment and advice for workers and employers Skills training for unskilled workers To encourage self employment To raise the status of domestic workers	Skills training - sewing, cooking and first aid Literacy	247 Lower Main Road OBSERVATORY 7925
General Workers Aid Service (Established by W.P. General Workers Union)	1978-	To enable the General Workers Union to extend assistance to individual who have employment related problems To support GWU in, for example, legal disputes	Offering an advice service Helps to extend knowledge through paralegal clinics	General Workers Union 11 Benbow Building 7764
South African Council for Catholic Social Service (SACCSS)	1978-	Project is aimed at stimulating development projects in rural areas and servicing the Catholic Social Services already in operation	Development project Self-help schemes Co-operatives	37a Somerset Road CAPE TOWN 8001 Ph: 25 2095
Zakhe	1978-	To facilitate collective action	Provision of printing and	P.O. Box 143

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
			transport Library facilities Audio visual facilities Education and training	LANSDOWNE 7780
Association for Guidance and Assistance to Pupils (AGAP)	1979-	To enlighten the community with regards to the needs of pupils To give guidance and assistance to pupils with regard to their social, economic and educational needs To support and inspire teachers in their tasks of educating the whole child	School counselling service Youth development programme Teacher support programme Soup kitchen project Parent participation project Computer education project Educational games project	P.O. Box 186 ELSIES RIVER 7480 Ph: 638 5176
Koeberg Alert	1979-	To make the public aware of the meaning and implications of nuclear power To oppose by peaceful means the development of nuclear power To analyse the process by which Koeberg Nuclear Power Plant and other nuclear projects in S.A. arose and to direct efforts towards halting them To work for the redirection of human and economic resources towards the development of safe renewable cheap energy resources	Collection and disemination of information about the development of nuclear power in general Resource centre on nuclear and related issues is open on alternate Saturdays at Community House	P.O. Box 344 SALT RIVER 7925 Michael Kantey (w) 644136 (h) 6852536
Health Care Trust	1979-	To promote the improvement of health care in the widest sense, in South Africa	Community Health project with community based organisations in and around Cape Town Industrial health project Village health project in Cala district, Transkei	Ledger House ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 696 6735
Marriage Encounter	1979-	Renewal of the church through the renewal of the sacrament of marriage To facilitate real communication	Residential weekend experience of 20 couples	Neale O'Connor 8 Schabort Crescent Durbell

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		through a totally private encounter between husband and wife		DURBANVILLE 7550 PH: 26 6897
Molo Songololo	1979-	To encourage children to express themselves freely To encourage communications among children To provide alternative reading material for children To encourage children to use their artistic abilities creatively To make the society aware of children's needs	Run children's workshops Run holiday programmes Publish children's magazines	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 8821
Philani Nutrition Centre	1979-	Provide nutrition, care and education for children and mothers in the Crossroads community	Nutritional education and care for the underfed Teaching the growing of vegetables Medical care Relief scheme - food parcels Antenatal lectures	P.O. Box 117 PHILLIPI 7781
Savio Adult Education Centre	1979-	To accommodate adults and students of matric	Classes (evening or afternoon) in matric subjects	Salesian, Lansdowne Road CLAREMONT 7700
Urban Problems Research Unit-UCT (UPRU)	1979-	Research into issues such as housing, education, unemployment, urbanisation Community consultancy service	Research into urbanisation, regional development strategies, influx control Urban Education Local authority financing Reference Library available Teachers Resource Centre	C. Sharp Cottage U.C.T. RONDEBOSCH 7700 V.Watson
Adult Learning Project (ALP)	1980-	To organise groups of learners and teach them how to read and write in their own mother tongue To organise groups of learners who	Teaching language skills Seminars and training courses for community organisations and trade unions	4 Astley Road MOWBRAY 7700 Ph: 685 3330

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		are already literate in their mother tongue, and teach them English as a second language To include in the lessons information about laws, organisations, health, nutrition, housing and any other subjects relevant to their lives	Resources of reading materials	
Education, Research and Information Centre (ERIC) ERIC became ERIP Education, Research Information Project in 1988 when it was incorporated into UWC	1980-	To provide resources and progressive educational programmes	Audiovisual material Resource Library Audiovisual Equipment Copying facilities Workshops and Programmes	C/O Institute for Counselling University Centre U.W.C. Modderdam Road BELLVILLE
Food Allergies and Information Society	1980-	To distribute information and provide telephone contact service for people with allergies who have been professionally diagnosed	Monthly meetings Newsletter Telephone contact service	Mrs Howick 15 Brommersvlei Road CONSTANTIA
Grassroots Publications	1980-	To publish a regular community newspaper which articulates the experiences and demands of the oppressed and exploited To assist in media training: development of media skills among the oppressed To assist in the initiation of new media projects wherever possible	Publish Grassroots Community newspaper 10 times per year - run an education and training project which: a) Runs media skills workshops organisations/schools, etc. b) Holds and annual 7-day winter school c) Provides skills training for grassroots volunteers d) Produces media resources (booklets, slide-tape shows, videos, manuals) Run a rural project which: a) Develops media skills in the rural areas b) Initiates media projects in rural	45 Arnold's House Belgravia Road ATHLONE Ph: 637 1321 P.O. Box 1161 CAPE TOWN 8000

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES areas	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Industrial Health Research Group (IHRIG)	1980-	Assist democratic trade unions with problems associated with occupational health and safety	Provision of information; education of shop stewards, workers; measurement and assessment of workplace hazards; advice on prevention of hazards and protective measures; medical screenings of workers exposed to hazardous substances; briefings on legislative developments; advice on medical services, worker benefits, etc.	Judith Cornell Sociology Dept. University of Cape Town Private Bag RONDEBOSCH 7700
Health Workers Society	1980-	To promote patient care at all levels To provide a forum for health discussions, opinions and education To act as a supportative for health workers The right of all nurses to have an equal say in their organisation The right of all nurses to elect their own representatives Freedom of association for nurses who have been forced to accept homeland citizenship Full and equal citizenship in an undivided democratic South Africa	Community health projects Newsletter Debate	P.O. Box 224 ATHLONE 7764
Masifundise	1980-	To provide bursaries and other financial assistance to needy or deserving students for the purpose of their educational advancement at primary, secondary or tertiary level To promote public awareness of the need for educational advancement of black children and students in such a manner as may be appropriate in particular circumstances To provide a counselling service	Resources Centre Workshops Vocation Schools Literacy programme Correspondence programme	P.O. Box 100 LANGA 7455

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		covering all aspects of the education including counselling in respect of career guidance		
Parentcraft	1980-	To stimulate informal talks and discussions with experts in various fields relating to all aspects of parenthood	Meeting alternate Wednesdays	Childcare Information Centre Cnr Swakins & Campground Roads RONDEBOSCH
Parent Effective Training	1980-	To provide parent education with the emphasis on learning communication skills in order to improve relationships and to handle conflict creatively	Courses	5 Lady Ann Avenue NEWLANDS 7700
Phoenix Society	1980-	To educate and enlighten the general public about transvestism To assist all those with gender-related problems to come to terms with themselves	Counselling Bi-monthly magazine Social Get-togethers	P.O. Box 375 PAROW 7500
Southern African Labour Development Research Unit (SALDRU)	1980-	Policy-orientated research in labour and development Resource centre and info service training of aspirant researcher	Current Research:- Research on Trade Unions, industrial councils and wage determinations, agriculture and labour regular working papers Labour Research Service. Cooperatives	6th Floor Robert Leslie Social Science Building U.C.T. Private Bag RONDEBOSCH 7700
St Lukes Hospice	1980-	Nursing and care for terminally ill patients and their families	Training programme in the care of the dying Nursing and medical care of terminally ill patients both in their homes and in an in-patient facility	P.O. Box 59 KENILWORTH 7745
Retreat Legal Aid Office	1980-	To provide legal aid for those unable to seek private legal advice	Legal aid advice	Mary Atlee Community Centre Retreat Road RETREAT

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Teachers Action Committee	1980-	To provide alternatives to the status quo - in the classroom, in the meeting place, and in the community The need for a new approach in teaching for a programme of change in attitudes and activities	Workshops Producing newsletter	
UCT* SRC Resource Centre	1980-	To provide resources for students	Resource centre for students run by Contains books, clippings, pamphlets, etc. on relevant issues in SA.	Student Union University of Cape Town Ph: 650 0210
UWC - Teaching Centre	1980-	To improve teaching & learning by means of research & guidance To contribute to the university's broad academic planning To facilitate teaching innovation To create the facilities required to implement such innovations	Formal research e.g. learning problems. Formal lecturing e.g. B.Ed. course on Computer-Based education. Outreach programme to schools.	C/o Goldfields Resource Centre U.W.C. P.O. Box X17 BELLVILLE 7530
Voluntary Aid Bureau	1980-	To promote volunteering Interviewing and placing volunteers in suitable volunteer jobs Being a resource centre on volunteering	Employment Bureau for Volunteers Workshops for the effective use of volunteers Training volunteers Resource Centre Consultations	P.O. Box 3836 CAPE TOWN 8000
Whole Health Institute	1980-	To provide education in the art of wholeness To provide education in whole person health care	Seminars Newsletter Organising visitors as speakers or running programmes	P.O. Box 245 CONSTANTIA 7848 Ph: 794 1297
Careerwise	1981-1982	Individual career guidance, career changes and career development with special emphasis on women returning to work	Seminar/courses	P.O. Box 145 CLAREMONT Ph: CRIC
Dial-A-Mum	1981-	To offer a listening ear to parents who are at the end of their tether,	Telephone support service 24 hours a day	1 Wendy Way Northgate

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		and practical non-medical advice for non-medical problems, and to refer parents where necessary, to the best professional resource		PAROW 7500
Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEP)	1981-1984	To facilitate better communication and resolve conflicts between employers and employees To handle complaints from domestics To strive towards emprovement of domestic workers' work conditions in South Africa	Centres of concern where domestics are taught skills	5 Long Street MOWBRAY 7705
Human Awareness Programme (Linked to SAIRR)	1981-1982	To assist organisations and individuals working for change to become more effective in achieving their objectives	Training courses Consultation Publications	
Labour History Group	1981-	To research, write and publish booklets that tell the history of the labour movement in S.A. for workers whose home language is not English	Publication of booklets on the following topics: The ICU The 1922 White Miners Strike 1946 African Mineworkers Strike Garment Workers Unite Organising at the Cape Town Docks Asinamali Organising in the 1950's The 1973 Strikes All in English	Linder Cooper c/o ILRIG P.O. Box 213 SALT RIVER 7925
Manenberg Educational Movement	1981-	To take up the problems of practical classes in the schools	Tuition program for high school students to help them prepare for examinations	
Qibla Muslim Movement	1981-	To disseminate the truth and to strive for the eradication of the subjugation of man by man and also to propagate, implement and defend justice	Bursaries for needy students Seminars to project the truth Missionary wing to asslist the oppressed Publications: Qibla bulletins	Belgravia Road ATHLONE 7764

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
SA Domestic Workers Association (SADWA)	1981-	To protect the domestic worker against exploitation and to secure fair and reasonable conditions of employment To help domestic workers solve problems To become a mouth piece for domestic workers To negotiate with employers on behalf of domestic workers To work towards a Trade Union	Counselling and advice work Leadership and skills training workshops Meetings monthly Publications	5 Long Street MOWBRAY 7700
Ulwazi Christian Association	1981-	To provide alternative methods to formal education	Formal studies Non-formal studies (social issues) English for communication Skills offering	247 Lower Main Road OBSERVATORY 7925
Wholistic Health Centre	1981-	To spread the knowledge of wholism through diet, herbs, vitamins, exercise meditation and personality training	Courses	9 Ludgate Road KENWYN 7764
Ad Hoc Detention Action Committee (ADAC)	1982-	To promote awareness of the implications of detention for organisations and relatives of detainees To analyse the use of detention as a state strategy To educate and inform organisations about the rights of detainees and to research the legal, medical and psychological effects of detention To develop links between ADAC and other groups involved in the detention issue	Newsletter Treatment of torture victims (psychological and physical) Workshops around repression/ legal rights Publicity/Public protest around detentions/repression	P.O. Box 368 SALT RIVER 7925
Association for Pre-school Education, Care & Training (ASPECT)	1982- 1988	To strive towards co-operation and co-ordination of the efforts of organisations and individuals	Workshops Training of Teachers assistant teachers and workers	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Defunct		concerned with the pre-school child To improve standards of education care and training To function in an advisory capacity in relation to planning in respect of the pre-school Taking action to further the interests of the pre-school child	Producing Newsletter Promote formation of a united Pre-school Association	
Association of Retired Persons and Pensioners	1982-	To benefit each and everyone of the more than 1,5 million retired persons and pensioners, irrespective of race or nationality, who are resident in the Republic of South Africa	Negotiating discounts for members Special concessions on certain travel, rates, taxes, etc. Negotiating favourable premium rates Arrange pilot deliveries of several tons of apricots and hannepoot grapes direct from farmer to pensioner Social meetings, outings, community projects, etc.	Mr P.S. Stock P.O. Box 403 HOWARD PLACE 7450
Cape Town Trade Union Library	1982-	To provide a library service to the working people of Cape Town and vicinity with the means of study and education To assist the trade unions in educational, cultural training and research programmes	Readers Club Workshops Training courses for trade unionists	P.O. Box 376 SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 471 677
Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) Restricted	1982-	To provide suport and care for those in detention or on trial and their relatives To keep up constant pressure for the release of detainees and the scrapping of detention laws and, as an interim measure, to press for improvements in the treatment of the detainees To keep the issue of detention in the public eye through the press, meetings, the distribution of	Keeping in touch with parents of detainees Organising food and clothing for detainees Organising visits Referral for medical examination post detention National Detainees Day	P.O. Box 368 SALT RIVER 7925

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		information		
Divorce Workshop	1982-	To help members adjust to their new life through communicating at an informative level with others in similar situations	Monthly meetings with guest speakers Outings including children informal discussions Hikes, bridge and theatre evenings Workshops Library	P.O. Box 4894 CAPE TOWN 8000
Gay Association of SA (GASA)	1982-	To foster confidence and self respect among homosexuals	Monthly magazine	P.O. Box 6010 ROGGEBAAI 8012
Institute for Social Development (ISD)	1982-	In Southern Africa there are communities which, in the midst of economic superfluity, find themselves in a Third World situation There are wider differences of opinion as to the course which has to be taken to solve the problems of development of these communities The I.S.D. finds itself part of this debate and sees its primary task as making a contribution to the socio-economic problems these communities, and specifically those in the Western Cape, have to face	-Research on problems of development -Dissemination of Information -Formal lecturing -Conferences of courses	Social Sciences Building U.W.C.
Link-up	1982-	To let people know about current educational programmes	Information through lectures, workshops, talks Newsletter every two months	4 Lincoln Street HARFIELD VILLAGE 7700
Movement of Christian Workers (MCW)	1982-	The movement of Christian workers groups together adults, mainly married couples from the working-class for the purpose of doing social analysis They try to understand their reality	Review of Life groups Adult workers (preferably couples) review their lives and involvement in a group with 2-3 other couples The effects of their involvement on and the conscientisation of	Roddy Nunes Marcus Rodgers Ph: 461 3673

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		at work and in the community with a view to changing that reality so that their world might become more human, based on the concept of sharing and equality As part of their analysis they try to understand how their faith can link up with a vision of a new non-exploitative society	children is an aspect which also reflected upon Developement Projects The movement is engaged in projects which looks at health care, education, and culture and the development of people to strive for these basic needs	
National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)	1982-	Attainment of the highest level of health for all the people by: -promoting and practising comprehensive health care emphasising-both preventive and curative aspects -improving standards of teaching and training in the medical and dental fields relevant to the needs of the majority of the people -promoting the health and allied sciences at all levels of society -working closely with those scientific, professional or other groups which contribute to the advancement of health -critically reviewing the health consequences of racial discrimination and economic exploitation in South Africa -affirming that the social and economic system of apartheid is incompatible with the attainment of good health and eradication of disease for the majority -assisting in the creation of conditions for optimum health which can only exist in a free and democratic society -upgrading the quality of primary	-Emergency Services Groups-NAMDA, together with detainees support groups, trains people from the community in first aid to enable them to deal with emergencies and crises Part of the programme includes the health care and rehabilitation of ex-detainees. -NAMDA makes medical personnel available to community and worker organisations on request for specific occassions in order to provide health care -Occupational Health-NAMDA educates doctors regarding social welfare benefits available to workers who fall ill or are injured. It also monitors ethical standards in occupational health care delivery -Research - a number of important areas relating to apartheid and repression have been explored - Publications include Children and Adolescents in Detention; Implications of the new constitution for health care; The Struggle for Health, The Struggle for Democracy; New Directions in Health Care, From Apartheid to Democracy.	Medical Branch P.O. Box 536 SALT RIVER 7925 Dental Branch P.O. Box 536 GATESVILLE 7764 Head Office P.O. Box 17160 CONGELLA 4013

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		medical care through education about the clinical and sociological aspects of general practice, hospital practice rural health care and workers health -promoting and protecting the honour and interests of the medical and dental profession and ensuring that every member adheres to the highest ethical codes governing these professions -actively encouraging and developing community and worker participation in all aspects of health policy including the allocation and distribution of resources -supporting the establishment of a national occupational health service to protect and care for the nation's workers in the urban and rural areas	-Workshops and Seminars-workshops and seminars have been held on subjects down played or ignored by the established medical profession and on continuing medical education -Newsletters and other publications have been published and distributed in the different regions	
Read Educate and Develop (READ)	1982-	To promote reading and improve literacy Develop reading and writing so as to speak competently Provide libraries in resource-deprived schools	Research study skills Training in book usage Library administration Box libraries Competitions to motivate children to read Teaching aids Produce training materials Develop community outreach programmes	Edna Fitzgerald Regional Co-ordinator 21 Bower Road WYNBERG 7800
Technical Assistance Project (TAP) Defunct	1982-	To assist community organisations and trade unions with technical problems and information	Publications Ad Hoc advice on technical issues	12 Louder Street CAPE TOWN 8001
The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)	1982-	To strengthen links between progressive christians Educate and mobilize church members around justice issues	Campaign against forced removals Political education in churches Media (Praxis) Education	6th Floor Ledger House ATHLONE Cnr Adam & Beverley Strs

213

214

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Work with other progressive organisations Stand, suffer and struggle with poor and oppressed Become a sign of hope		ATHLONE 7764
Theology Exchange Programme (TEP)	1982-	Attempts to contribute to the transformation of both Church and Theology in South Africa, by providing opportunities for Christians involved in Social justice issues and organisations, to be exposed to other experiences of the Church at the service of the poor	Arranging for people from selected countries to visit South Africa Arranging for South Africans to visit countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as countries inside Southern Africa A Resource Centre on the Church and the peoples struggle in the Third World countries.	P.O. box 5 ATHLONE 7760 6th Floor Ledger House Cnr Aden & Beverly Str. ATHLONE
Committee Against Racism and Sexism in Education (CARE) Changed to ERASE	1983-	To challenge and eradicate all forms of racism and sexism, in text books, schools, the workplace, and society at large	Workshops, resources, seminars etc.	Room 710, 7th Floor Atlantic House 16 Corporation Street CAPE TOWN 8001 Ph: 46 1509
Conscientious Objectors Support Group (COSG)	1983-	To provide a moral and material support to objectors, and publicizes their stands	Brings out newsletter called "Objectors" Runs an advice service for those contemplating objecting	
End Conscription Committee (ECC) Restricted	1983-	To oppose the militarisation of society and in particular to campaign and organise around the demand for an end to compulsory conscription into the South African Defence Force	National campaign against conscription	P.O. Box 208 WOODSTOCK 7925 Ph: 47 8818 Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER
International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG)	1983-	To provide research information and educational materials on international labour issues for the independent trade union movement and other progressive community or	Production of short easily readable booklets on relevant issues in Eng. Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho Collection and development of relevant audiovisual materials	P.O. Box 213 SALT RIVER 7925 14 Community House

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		educational organisations in S.A. To provide educational talks and workshops, research information etc.	on international labour themes and and making these available on loan in the W.Cape Collection of printed information on international labour issues and the development of a resource centre where the information is stored and may be consulted Research on companies, strikes, other labour movements Assisting with international contacts Running educational workshops on S.A. and international labour issues Production etc.	41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER Research Office Room 4.35 Leslie Bldg. Sociology Dept. U.C.T.
Legal Resource Centre (LRC)	1983-	To provide free legal services to community organisations and individuals in matters involving community issues more especially in the fields of housing, education, influx control, township law, consumer matters, labour and related fields	The handling of legal matters The provision of seminars, lecturer, workshops to community groups/organisations on legal topics Assistance to and servicing of advice offices	Scott Building 41 Church Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Lilacs	1983-	To provide a non-hostile enviroment for lesbian women in Cape Town To fight homophobia in society and the isolation of individual lesbians	Newsletter Forthnightly meetings Outreach programmes	P.O. Box 93 SALT RIVER 7925
Mission of Churches for Community Development (MCCD)	1923-	To provide employment and advice for workers and employers Skills training for unskilled To encourage self employment To raise the status of domestic workers	Community work training (including "practicals" for social work students) Skills training (mainly Building trades) Brick and block making centre	247 Lower Main Road OBSERVATORY 7925
Novo Aid	1983-	To provide a 24 hour service for advice and information to diabetics and their families	24 hours telephonic advice service Working with diabetic clinics Education of day hospital staff Education of patients	211 Gibralter House Regent Road SEA POINT 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
The Parent Centre	1983-	To strengthen effectiveness and self-confidence of parents by providing support and information on children's needs and parental skills To foster the self-esteem of children To prevent break-down in family relationships To disseminate parenting skills among professionals and other interested persons in the surrounding communities	Parent Training Programmes Special Services for New Mothers and Mothers of toddlers Specialized workshops Resources: Individual counselling Lectures Library	31 Eden Road CLAREMONT 7700 Ph: 61 9142/3
Vukuhambe Cripple Association	1983-	To teach one another to work To be self-reliant To be independent of handouts To supplement grants To make the community aware of the needs of cripples	Making of leather goods, clothing and curtaining Participation in sporting activities	NY 2 No 1 GUGULETU 7750
Advice Bureau on Military Conscription (ABMC)	1984-	To help people clarify their position with regards to military service and to provide information about some of the alternatives facing the conscript	Runs a counselling service on dillemas of conscription. Also offers practical advice regarding applications to Board of Religious Objectors/to refer them to the appropriate people for advice	
Advice Office Forum (AOF)	1984-	To co-ordinate the work of advice offices who provide advice to the residents and workers in particular areas	To support the work of affiliates who provide advice on housing, evictions, rent increases, unemployment, disability, grants, pensions, maintenance, legal aid	7 Town Centre HANOVER PARK 7700 PH: 637 2898
Affiliate Advice Offices		Bonteheuwel, Eastridge, Heideveld, Kraaifontein, Langa, Lavender Hill, Logra, Salt River, Steenberg/Retreat, Woodstock, Worcester		
Bellville Community Health Project	1984-	To organise the community around health issues so as to build a strong civic organisation	Discussion groups around health issues Training of workers	Dulcie House Opp. Bellville Civic Centre KASSELSVLEI

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
				7533
Council for Black Education and Research Trust (COBERT)	1984-			P.O. Box 19 LANGA Ph: 62 4197
Jews for Justice	1984-	To promote greater awareness amongst the Jewish community of SA of the a) Fundamental Jewish principle of dignity, justice and equality before the law b) The historical experience of the Jewish people, resulting in an abhorrince of all forms of racism and oppression in general and the system of apartheid in particular To engage in activities which assist encouraging an increased awareness amongst the Jewish community of the need for tha abolition of apartheid and its replacement by a non-racial, just and democratic social order	Periodic newsletters, public forums seminars, forums, support and liaison and relief work.	P.O. Box 13026 MOWBRAY 7705 Ph: 47 4809
National Committee Against Removals (NCAR)	1984-	To research, analyse, publicise and document the government's policy of forced removals	Co-ordinate work amongst affiliates and back-up research for affiliates	P.O. Box 187 CAPE TOWN 8000
Branches		5 affiliates, Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) - Pietermaritzburg Port Elizabeth Anti-Removals Committee (PARC) Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC) Surplus People's Project (SPP) - Cape Town		
Nurses' Support Group Defunct	1984-	To initiate support groups where nurses can discuss their frustrations, conflicts and difficulties To familiarize nurses with their		

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		policies, medical aid and sick leave in an advisory capacity to nurses regarding their rights		
Surplus People's Project (SPP) Project of NCAR	1984-	To undertake action with contributes to the eradication of forced removals, resettlement and relocation in S.A.,	Assistance to communities threatened with removals and to those already moved. Analysis of legislation, voting trends Support for rural organisations. Publications, Library.	P.O. Box 187 CAPE TOWN 8001 Ph: 638 5162 Josette Cole
Vumani Preschool Project	1984-	To work with teachers, parents and other groups and individuals responsible for the care and education of young children, to develop resources, teaching methods and learning activities, that will help to create a progressive preschool curriculum for all South African children	-produces resources such as posters for guidelines for preschool workers and parents -workshops with teachers on aspects of the pre-school curriculum -helps teachers-childminders to develop and test new teaching materials -organise story-writing groups and publishing new stories -relates preschool education to other aspects of children's and parents' experiences in South Africa -analyses the role that preschool education plays in the broader struggle for liberation in S.A.	P.O. Box 2580 CAPE TOWN 8000 Ph: 47 9546
Athlone Education Crisis Committee Affiliated to the NECC	1985-	Set up during the education crisis in 1985 Consists of community and	Activities: mass rallies, media etc.	P.O. Box 47 GATESVILLE

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		educational organisations in Athlone area		
Athlone Resource Centre	1985-	To provide resources for community organisations on a limited basis focusing on service organisations	Resource centre which services organisations based in Athlone	Ledger House ATHLONE 7764
Beauty without Cruelty	1985-			P.O. Box 97 NEWLANDS
Bellville Crisis Centre	1985-	To help the community with legal aid and financial assistance		Dulcie Howes Community Centre Kasselvlei Road BELLVILLE PH: 951 5928
Bonteheuwel Parents Support Group	1985-	To support children affected by state repression	Legal aid Advice	
Cape Educational Computer Society (CECS)	1985-	To actively challenge conservative and authoritarian modes of instruction within schools To enable students and teachers to effect more control other their education To instil confidence and control over modern technology, preparing students for a more assertive role in a future, changing South Africa Assist community organisations in the use of computers for administrative and media work	Quarterly newsletter, student leadership camps, teacher camps, resources on computer, education, Computer Assisted Learning Project CALP	Arnolds House 45 Belgravia Road ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 637 0563
Cape Jewish Seniors Association	1985-	To develop community services and resources that will enable the aged person to remain in the community for as long as possible	Transport committee	PH: 214636
Cape Town Drug Action	1985-	To educate, inform and conscientise	Educational activities	P.O. Box 128

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Committee		the general public about the damage of drug abuse		CAPE TOWN 8001
Centre for Adult & Continuing Education (CACE)	1985-	CACE is involved in the promotion of adult and continuing education which serves the needs of the poor and oppressed both individually and organizationally, with an overall commitment to the attainment of a non-racial democratic society CACE is committed to achieving this through: -Informal, non-formal. formal teaching -Ongoing research -Provision of appropriate resources to adult & community educators	Formal training of adult educators ie. Part-time 2yr Certificate for Educators of adults. 2yr. Advanced Diploma for Educators of Adults. Non-formal education Computer Literacy & Information Project (CLIP) Resource Centre Research on Community Organisations (CORE) Peoples Education Project (PEP)	U.W.C. Private Bag X17 BELLVILLE 7530 Ph: 959 2798
Clothing Workers Union (CLOWU) Defunct	1985-	To provide relief for striking and retrenched workers		
Concerned Doctors Action Committee (CODAC) Incorporated into NAMDA	1985-	Ad-hoc committee consisting of progressive doctors to assist with medical attention for those injured by state repression		
Concerned Engineers and Quantity Surveyors Incorporated into DAG	1985-			
Democratic Teachers Union (DETU)	1985-	To strive for a single, non-racial democratic education system for all South Africans irrespective of race colour, sex or creed in a non-racial and unitary South Africa To work towards the implementation of people's education in South Africa To work towards the formation of one united non-racial teachers' body	Newsletters Political Education	P.O. Box 128 PHILLIPI 7781

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Our motto is "Educate to Liberate" To fight for the rights of teachers		
Education for an aware SA (EDASA)	1985-	Promote awareness amongst white teachers so as to work towards open schools in an open society - non racial, unitary and democratic To work towards non racial teacher unity etc	Information Meetings House Meetings Contact	Gareth Rossitter P.O. Box 35 RONDEBOSCH 7700
English-Speaking Parents Association	1985-			
Foundation for Co-operative Development Closed Incorporated into CDRA Community Development Resource Association	1985- 1987	To facilitate the development of co-operatives in rural and urban areas To look into aspects of world vision that could make use of co-operative development	Development of co-operatives Agricultural and mineral co-op in Namaqualand Co-ops in Montagu, East coast and Hout Bay	Alan Kaplan PH: 71 5353
Health, Education and Welfare Society of South Africa (HEWSSA)	1985-	To advocate and facilitate the realisation of the spirit of self-reliance among the disenfranchised and displaced people of South Africa	Finding funds for community-based projects and granting material and financial assistance to projects	Dr N.E. Alexander 15 Durham Avenue SALT RIVER P.O. Box 378 SALT RIVER 7925
Health Workers Advice Office	1985-	To help workers who work in health institutions with work related problems - unemployed insurance fund, pensions, etc.	Gives advice on UIF, pension fund, unfair dismissals, etc.	5th Floor Atlantic House Corporation Street Cape Town 8001
Health Workers Union	1985-	To regulate relations between members and their employers and protect and further the interest of the members in relation to their employment;	Giving advice on UIF, pension fund; unfair dismissals, etc.	5th Floor Atlantic House Corporation Street CAPE TOWN 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To promote the interest of the members To encourage the settlement of disputes of conciliatory methods; To promote, support or oppose, as may be deemed expedient, any proposed legislative or other measures affecting the interest of members To use every legitimate means to induce all persons who are eligible for membership to become members To assist members in obtaining and retaining employment To provide legal assistance to members in connection with their employment when deemed necessary To co-operate with and assist other workers' organisations in the general interests of the working class movement, and to promote unity of action, co-operation and close relationships among all workers; To represent members on any industrial counselling or conciliation board which may be established to deal with matters affecting members, and on public, Government or other bodies		P.O. Box 4058 CAPE TOWN 8000
Human Relations Centre	1985-	A body aimed at abolishing apartheid, improving living conditions, co-ordinating self-help projects and combating hunger, poverty and child-abuse		P.O. Box 131 CAPE TOWN 8001
Islamic Relief Agency	1985-	To give assistance and relief to the oppressed and needy community in South Africa	Collects funds for the needy and provides them with the essential goods	Room 6 Raymo Building Cnr Ruth & Klipfontein Roads RYLANDS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
				7764
Journalist Solidarity Committee	1985-		Publishing Bulletin on Unrest	P.O. Box 181 ATHLONE 7760
Mitchells Plain Counter-Propaganda Committee (Defunct)	1985-	Set up to counter state propaganda in Mitchells Plain	Mostly Counter - propaganda activities through media, pamphlets stickers etc.	
New School	1985-	To prepare the primary school pupil for secondary education	Orientation programmes study of formal subjects Winter school (1 week) Weekend camp	P.O. Box 42 RONDEBOSCH 7900
Newspaper Vendors Advice Office	1985-	To help newsvendors to be an organised working force To work towards improvement of their working conditions and job security To prevent or discourage child labour exploitation	Educational programmes, artwork, drama, music Recreational - film shows outings games and sport Subsidized soup-kitchen Basic adult literacy programme Counselling services	Mr Moerat, Shawco Elsiesriver or DWA offices 5th Atlantic House CAPE TOWN Ph: 932 6326
Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in S.A. (OASSSA)	1985-	Unite social workers, psychologists and other social service workers Examine and research the causes of social and personal problems To work with communities to help build relevant and appropriate social service Share our knowledge and skills through workshops, conferences, publications resources with progressive organisations	Direct Intervention Media and Research Workshops Conferences	5th Floor Ledger House Aden Avenue ATHLONE 7764
Parent Action Committee Defunct	1985-	To rally parents in Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga to rally parents around education struggles of children		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Parent-Teachers-Students Association	1985-	To co-ordinate activities of various P.T.S.A.'s affiliated to it	Media	P.O. Box 401 ATHLONE 7764
Affiliates		Athlone High, Alexander Sinton, Belgravia PTSA, Belhar PTSA, Crystal Secondary, Grassy Park, Heideveld PTSA, Harold Cressy, Kensington, Kentemade PTSA, Livingstone, Ravensmead, Schotsches Kloof, Salt River PTSA, Trafalgar PTSA, Vista PTSA, Walmer Secondary, Windermere		
Ravensmead Worker Advice Bureau	1985-	To provide legal and personal advice to workers	Advice on UIF, sick benefits etc.	Goodhope Shopping Centre Room No. 2 RAVENSMEAD 7490
Repression Monitoring Group (RMG)	1985-	To assist in locating those arrested or missing To assist with medical aid To offer counselling in the post detention/arrest situation To assist with co-ordination of food parcels, visits and other arrangements To assist families through support/counselling with crises resulting from police/army activity To work closely with community organisations to co-ordinate relief assistance and collect and disseminate relevant information	As stated in the aims	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 7230/1 417 5021
Single Parents Action Group	1985-			
Unemployed Workers Movement	1985-	To organise unemployed workers To contribute to the unity of employed and unemployed about existing resources agencies and educational materials	Anti-scabbing and other support work for employed workers. Campaigns around the demands of the unemployed. Workshops co-operatives and advice giving.	General Secretary 41 Community House SALT RIVER 7925 Ph: 47 9497

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA)	1985-	Legal Rights for families To work for an improvement in the people's quality of life in terms of: basic living conditions, adult education, recreational facilities To seek the recognition of the Godgiven right of people to live with their families near their places of work To liaise with the appropriate authorities together with other bodies for the purpose of achieving these aims Politicise the people in the Hostels as to fight the migrant labour system	Advice Office, Health Project and Upgrading Conditions in Hostels	P.O. Box 39 LANGA 7455
Branches of WCHDA	Brackenfell, Strand, Kuilsriver, Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu.			
Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU)	1985-	To struggle for a unitary, non-sexist, democratic and free education system on all levels, and compulsory education of primary and secondary level as part of our struggle for a non-racial South Africa, free of oppression and exploitation	Establishing resource centres, advice bureau, benefit fund Research, study and discussion of theory and practice of education	P.O. Box 18306 WYNBERG 7824
Branches	U.W.C., Athlone, Athlone East, Athlone Central, Southern Suburbs, Northern Suburbs, Cape Town			
West Coast Council of Churches	1985-	To promote unity To become a grassroot ecumenical movement To enable people to participate at all levels To respond according to our common witness To work towards the renewal and change of our present unjust society	Advice Office Programme, Education and Training	P.O. Box 46 Diazville 7397 SALDANHA Ph: 02281 41984
Western Province Black	1985-			

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Sports Field Association				
Young Workers Education Project	1985-	Providing tutor aids for young workers, who have not been able to complete their normal school career	Courses in English, History	21 Alfred Street SALT RIVER 7925 PH: 47 0495
Ad-Hoc Academic Boycott Committee	1986-	Ad-Hoc committee set up by progressives at U.C.T. in wake of "the O'Brien affair"	To look at issues concerning the implementation of the academic boycott	
Community Development Resource Association (CDRA)	1986-	Offers training and organisation development consultation to communities in the Cape through working with groups and agencies serving these communities Assisting processes of individual human development, purposeful change and democratic transformation in the community organisations and groups	Stimulating initiative-taking, co-responsibility and leadership The facilitation of organisation development workshop specific to the organisation, group or project concerned The training of change-agents/ community workers-where trainees will join together with members of various organisations - through a series of training workshops which will be interspersed with ongoing work in the trainee's organisation or project The provision of consultancy services both to individuals and to organisations The organisations of workshops and training in specific themes, where requested	6 Beach Road WOODSTOCK 7925 Ph: 47 9007
Concerned Parents Committee	1986	To organise protest against the transferral of Perter Carelse, principal of Glendale High	Media Rallies	
Federation of Parent - Teacher - Student	1986-	To strive for a unified system of education in a single, non-racial	As in aims	C/o Suikerbossie Road BELHAR

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Association PTSA'S Western Cape		democratic SA/Azania To provide a forum for discussion on education to set out to unite all organisations with a direct interest in education To work towards the growth and establishment of democratically-elected S.R.C.'S, P.T.S.A.'S and P.T.A.'S at schools and strive for a democratic system of alternative education		
Inter Faith Forum	1986-	Set up to co-ordinate activities between various religious groups so as to maximise their contribution in the struggle for Christian justice	Activities: Inter-faith services, pamphlets, media	C/o I.C.Y. Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925
Kagiso Trust Funding Agency	1986-	To fund community projects such as community organisations, resource centres and co-operatives		2nd Floor Barclay Centre Findon Street ATHLONE 7764 P.O. Box 403 ATHLONE 7764
Labour Research Service (LRS)	1986-	To provide research support to unions engaged in wage bargaining Training of researchers	Bargaining Reports Company Profiles Wage Analyses Training Seminars and briefing Publication	P.O. Box 376 SALT RIVER 7925 7 Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER Ph: 47 1677
Legal Education Action Project (LEAP)	1986-	Leap is a project of the Institute of Criminology at U.C.T. It aims to help people understand	Workshops on arrest and detention powers of police to use force etc. Specialized workshops on requested	Institute of Criminology U.C.T. Private Bag

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		their legal rights It aims to link the question of legal rights to its socio-economic context It assists individuals & organisations with court cases The aim of LEAP is to pass on skills and not to do all the work themselves It works mostly in rural areas where people generally do not have access to legal assistance	topics	Rondebosch7700
National Language Project (NLP)	1986-	To promote the need for functional communicative skills in all the languages of the region in which one lives; To promote English as the lingua franca of a future South Africa; To facilitate close working relationships among those organisations which are involved in teaching language at literacy and second language level which are working in this area and outside of state controlled instits.	Publish a quarterly newsletter to facilitate dialogue about language projects and issues in language policy, planning, teaching and learning procedures. Run Xhosa conversation classes for for beginners from community organisations and unions although individuals are also catered for. Run tutor training courses for teachers of English and Xhosa conversation.	P.O. Box 13073 MOWBRAY 7700 Ph: 685 7288 23 John Street MOWBRAY 7700
National Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee - Western Cape	1986-	Temporary structure for unemployed workers	To co-ordinate activities of unemployed organisations in Western Cape	Superama Building 2nd Floor ATHLONE 7764
Organizations Against Traitors (OUT)	1986-	An umbrella body consisting of youth, civic and political groups in Cape Town, Walmer Estate, Woodstock and Salt River To oppose the building of houses for M.P.S. in Walmer Estate	media, rallies and other methods of mobilization	Not available
Regional Literacy Co-operation Committee	1986-	Ad-hoc committee consists of literacy group - MAG, W.P.C.C., ALP, Cobert, Lamon, Masifundise, USWE	Co-ordinate activities of progressive literacy groups.	C/o USWE 1 College Road RONDEBOSCH

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
				7700 Ph: 686 4026
Save Bradley from Prison Committee Defunct	1986-	To focus public attention on the harsh sentences imposed on school children on charges of public violence	Petitions, mass rallies, media etc. to focus issues of sentence in morals of general public	
Stream Education Movement	1986-	Steenberg, Retreat, Education Increase awareness amongst students	Media Workshops Political Education	P.O. Box 14 HEATHFIELD
Unemployed Workers Union	1986-	To organise the unemployed worker in the Western Cape To create a forum of communication between the employed and unemployed To work towards the formation of one unemployed structure in the Western Cape	Co-operatives Training Political education	Superama Building ATHLONE
Use Spoken and Written English (USWE)	1986-	To help adult workers with little or no formal schooling gain more control over their lives by learning basic English and allied skills, including those that will promote effective participation in a democratic society	-To train facilitators in participatory methods of teaching and provide them with the skills for teaching English literacy. -To provide facilitators with continuing support in the form of seminars, resources, help with lesson planning and evaluation -To research and develop, test and evaluate basic education methods and materials which promote learner participation in the learning-teaching process -To research the need for literacy and to help set up new groups and centres -To co-operate with other progressive organisations working in the field of adult education	1 College Road RONDEBOSCH 7700

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Wynberg Crisis Committee	1986-	Crisis Committee set up during '86 to provide service for those affected by state repression	Provides legal and counselling service for all victims of state repression	
Abortion Reform Action	1987-	Set up to campaign for reform regarding the legal position of abortion and to campaign for the eventual legalization of abortion believing that every women has the final prerogative	To employ various methods to pressurize the authorities into re-assesing their position on abortion	
Concerned Parents Committee	1987	To co-ordinate activities during crisis at Langa High		
Catholic Educational Aid Programme	1987-	To provide financial and support services to scholars (Std 9 & 10) and tertiary level students in the Western Cape	Bursary fund	Getti Mercorio (Mr) 37A Somerset Road CAPE TOWN 8001
Community Research Education Resources (CER)	1987	It is an independent resources project attached to U.C.T. Aims to make research and resources at U.C.T. more easily available to organisations in the community	Research, making academic research accesible and available to community	3rd Floor Oppenheimer Building U.C.T.
Development Action Group (DAG)	1987-	To contribute towards planning of the physical enviroment that has within it a belief that planning and development should contribute towards an equitable and efficient distribution of resources	Offers advice on problems related to the built enviroment eg. advice on problems with rates/rents, home-ownership schemes, maintenance etc.	P.O. Box 15873 VLAEBERG 8018
Disabled People SA	1987-	To fight for the rights of disabled		
Friends of District Six 247	1987-	To co-ordinate the campaign for the development of a non-racial District Six	Petitions, putting pressure on relevant local and national authorities 248	
Goldfields Centre	1987	The promotion of the profesional development of teachers by means of	Formal in-service training of maths & science teachers for the	University of the Western Cape

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		in-service courses, workshops, symposiums & conferences The provision of resource materials on a loan basis The use of the Plato computer system Initiation and Publication of research on science & mathematics education	department of education Outreach programme for schools-computer assisted education The Genesis Project - Holiday training programme for high-school students Resources for schools Teachers Resource Centre, Guguletu. Research activities into various subjects seminars and other consiousness raising activities	P.O. Box X17 BELLVILLE 7530
Hands - Off District Six Campaign	1987-	Campaign to win public support for development of D6 into non-racial area	Media, rallies Political education	
Lawyers for Human Rights	1987-	To.uphold the right of individuals and committed to a society based on rule of law	Legal aid Publications Workshops	P.O. Box 6139 STELLENBOSCH Ph: 02231 3189
Mfesane Western Cape	1987-	An ecumenical Christian project which teaches people the principle of self-help	Projects: Educare Centre, Sewing club, senior citizens club	
National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL)	1987-	To uphold and to strive for the fulfilment and attainment of the beliefs and commitments in the preamble To develop, promote and maintain a system of law which shall be fair, just, equitable, accessible to and understood by all To support and promote the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and any other such document consistent with the aims and objectives of this Association To strive for the abolition of the	In terms of aims and objectives	6th Floor 2 Long Street CAPE TOWN 8001

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		death penalty To affiliate to any organisation, local or international, having aims and objects consistent with those of the Association provided by the General Council To render and co-ordinate te rendering of legal assistance to persons and organisations involved in matters affecting human rights To assist members in matters relating to and arising from their profession To assist those who wish to study, research, practise or teach law either through financial grants, law clinics or other institutions To promote the study of and research into alternative: legal education methods of admission to the legal profession; and legal institutions		
Plain Aid	1987-	A community welfare organization aimed specifically at improving conditions for children in Mitchell's Plain	Activities: Runs Soup Kitchens	Not available
Rural Legal Services Project Project of Legal Resources Centre	1987-	To provide a legal aid service for the rural areas	Running a legal aid service in rural areas	C/o Legal Resource Centre 41 Church Street CAPE TOWN 8001 PH: 23 8285
Transport Co-ordinating Committee Defunct	1987	To fight increase in bus fares	Media Delegations	
University of the Western Cape Association of Democratic Educators UWCADE	1987-	To actively contribute in the struggle to build a non-racial participatory democracy in S.A. free of all forms of oppression and exploitation	Workshops, Seminars etc.	Secretary UWCADE U.W.C. Private Bag X17

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Actively working towards progressive education, by which is meant developing a process of democratic, participatory and collective teaching and rigourous research content which is relevant and appropriate alliances with progressive groupings off campus, both in education and in the mass democratic movement Participating through teaching and research in construction of a post-apartheid South Africa Influencing policy making in all areas of the university Working towards giving students a direct say in the administration's decision-making process and in the academic organisation of the university Striving for a national association of educators with similar beliefs and commitments		BELLVILLE 7530
Wynberg Resource Centre	1987-	Provides resources to community organizations	Has resources on broad range of topics	P.O. Box 315 Wynberg
Child Care Information Centre	1988-	To provide a comprehensive information service on all aspects of child health and development To publish a directory of services for children with special needs To provide counselling and advice to families of children with handicaps Run toy library and play group sessions at centre and community To participate in formal academic and non-formal teaching programmes in health, education and welfare field	Counselling service to families of children with handicaps Information service (by visit, letter, telephone) on all aspects of child health and development Play groups and toy library sessions both at the centre and in the community for preschool children with handicaps Book lending library and resource material A directory of services on health, educational and welfare facilities	Mrs De Waal 47 Sawkins Road RONDEBOSCH 7700 Ph: 685 4103/4

253

254

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To liaise with appropriate community organisations	for children with special needs A teaching programme on handicaps both formally for health workers and students and informally to various community groups A liaison service with community organisations working in the field of handicap or children with special needs Collaborative research programmes with appropriate and community organisations	

Affiliates of or affiliated to Western Cape Forum for the Mentally Handicapped, Voluntary Aid Bureau, Libraries association, Aspect, Child Welfare society, Cape Town. Child Health Unit attached to department of Paedeatricts - U.C.T. med school.

Detainees Treatment Centre	1988-	To provide a centre for the treating of ex-detainees	Provides a counselling service for ex-detainees	Ledger House ATHLONE 7764 Ph: 696 7127
Education, Advice, Health Resource Unit (EAHRU)	1988-	Non-profit, health service organisation committed to working for a non-racial, non-exploitative society in SA	Runs a Health Clinic in Heideveld	P.O. Box 4019 Cape Town 8001
Manenberg Research Project	1988-	To develop an understanding of the socio-economic conditions obtaining in Manenberg	Develops research projects as requested by community organisations in Manenberg	P.O. Box 5 ATHLONE
National Detainees Forum -Western Cape Region (Restricted - Dec. 1988)	1988-	Formed as the successor to the DPSC which was restriced early in 1988	Media, projects	C/o R.M.G. Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925
Shalom Diaconte (Shadia)	1988-	To contribute to the process of democratizing the church and realizing the confession of Belhar (1986) "Standing where God Stands"	Resource Centre, Setting up of fraternal, Contact groups, workshops.	Rev. R. Botman NG Sendings Kerk Offices Wynberg

255

256

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Social Worker's Forum	1988-	To work towards the formation of an alternative People's welfare system based on the will and needss of the majority of our people	To work towards the building of a united welfare movement To represent the interest of all progressive welfare movement	P.O. Box 126 ATHLONE 7764
Cassette Education Trust (CASET)	1989-	Develping the functions of the audio-cassette as a medium of communication and education that can be used by democratic organisations	producing programmes; facilitating productions for organisations; running training workshops, and producing training pamphlets. Talking Newspaper	
Talking Newspapers Became CASET in 1989	1989			
Western Cape Education Front	1989-	To take forward the struggle for people's education		
African Pre-primary School Teachers Association				c/o Zwelekazi ELRU
Afrikaanse Geletterdheid		Materials in Afrikaans for newly literate and other workers attending adult literacy classes To promote informal co-operation among organisations providing Afrikaans literacy	A magazine designed to provide infomation on a wide range of issues affecting workers' lives Writing, translation and production of other articles, booklets, etc. as requested by organisations or learning group	1 College Road RONDEBOSCH 7700
Belhar Islamic Trust				
Eyoluntu Co-ordinating Committee (Peninsula Welfare Forum) Food Gardens Unlimited		Monthly Markets co-ordinates the activities of about 15 self help schemes and co-operatives	Project called "Siyazinceda (We help Ourselves)	Bridgette Scobel SAIRR Ph: 686 6645
GASA - Counselling		To provide counselling and infor-	24hour counselling service via	Telecall 21 5420

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Service		mationon gay-related issues	as well as a counselling clinic every Tuesday between 5 and 9pm	
HIV Positive Support Group		Community support services for persons who are HIV AB+, have an HIV related illness or AIDs	Counselling Service Education Social Support Group	P.O. Box 126 ROGGEBAAI
National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) Restricted				
Phillipi Resource Centre (Low Cost Housing informal settlement)				
Social and Community Action Trust Funding Agency (SCAT)			Funds community projects	P.O. Box 6184 CAPE TOWN 8001
UWC - SRC Resource Centre				
Health Workers Association				
South African Health Workers Congress (SAHWCO)				
Ravensmead Monitoring Group				

259

260

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 Organisations included here are those which have explicitly political goals but which are not registered as political parties.

2 Between 1957 and 1969 only two new political organisations are listed. Two important organisations, the ANC and PAC, were banned in 1960. Others like the NEUM decided to work in a low-keyed, semi-underground way. The re)emergence of political organisations occurres in the early 1970s with the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement and the establishment of SACOS.

3 Between 1980 and 1982 a number of action committees were formed around explicitly political issues. Some of these such as the Anti-SAIC committee and The Disorderly Bill Action Committee managed to bring the different political tendencies together around a common issue for a period of time. By 1983 however political organisations, which reasserted the ideological differences apparent in the 1950s, reemerged.

4 Between 1985 and 1988 23 new political organisations have been formed, of which the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (IDASA), Cape Democrats, and the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), were aimed at organising among white people. The establishment of these three organisations aimed at organising the 'white consistuency'.

5 Under the states of emergency, political organisations have found it very difficult to continue their work. As a response to repression, a significant number of ad hoc political organisations were formed to conduct several campaigns. Examples are the 'Save the Press Campaign', 'Free the Children Alliance', and Committee for the Defence of Democracy have arisen in response to repression.

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
African National Congress (Banned: in exile)	1912-1960	The ANC seeks to forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements pledged to the overthrow of the apartheid state Its demands are contained within the Freedom Charter	Political mobilisation and education	
Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) Changed to New Unity Movement in 1985	1943-	The liquidation of the national oppression of Non-Europeans in South Africa, that is the removal of all disabilities and the restrictions based on the grounds of race and colour, and acquisition by the Non-Europeans of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population	Political mobilisation and education	
Pan African Congress PAC (PAC) Banned: in exile	1959-1960	PAC identified its ultimate goal as the achievement of 'African Socialist Democracy' politically defined as a 'government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans	Political mobilisation and education	
African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA)	1961-	To struggle for the liquidation of national oppression of the oppressed people in South Africa, that is, the removal of all disabilities and restrictions based on the grounds of race and colour, and acquisition by the whole nation of those democratic rights enjoyed at present by only a small section of the population namely, the white people	Political education and mobilisation	P.O. Box 615 ERKENFONTEIN
Black People's Convention (BPC) Banned	1973-1977	To provide a political home for all black people who could not reconcile themselves with working within the frame works of separate development	Conferences Leadership training community projects	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		and to promote black solidarity To preach the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity To formulate an educational policy for blacks To create and maintain an egalitarian society		
South African Council of Sport (SACOS)	1973-	To administer, organise, promote and play non-racial sport in a non-racial society		c/o Western Province Council of Sport P.O. Box 277 ATHLONE
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) Restricted	1979-	To conscientise, politicise and mobilise black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for their legitimate rights To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively to the needs of Azanians To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle To work towards the unity of the oppressed for the just distribution of land, wealth and power to all the people of Azania	Political education and mobilisation	46 Halt Road Alsimo building ELSIES RIVER 7490
Cape Anti-SAIC Committee	1981-	To unite all oppositional groups to oppose the South African Indian Council Elections	Joint Action	
Disorderly Bills Action Committee (Cape Action League grew out of DBAC)	1982- 1983	To unite all oppositional groups in Cape Town to oppose the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill and the Presidents	Joint Action	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		Council		
Cape Action League (CAL)	1983-	The organisation of the CAL understands that the cause of all worker problems is the system of racial capitalism The struggle of the workers is against this system and needs the unity of the organisations of the exploited and the oppressed	Political mobilisation and education	609 Atlantic House Corporation Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Release Mandela Committee	1983-	The release of political leaders	Petitions Rallies	
United Democratic Front (UDF) Restricted	1983-	To unite all freedom-loving people who reject apartheid into one national UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT	Political mobilisation and education	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925
Call of Islam	1984-	To disseminate the truth which is the Islamic message and to mobilise the Muslim organisations with others to eradicate injustice	Seminars Publicises Muslim opinion concerning the political situation	P.O. Box 578 GATESVILLE 7764
Athlone People's Action Committee	1985-	To co-ordinate activities of various community organisations set up during the struggles of 1985	Media, rallies Co-ordination of activities of constituent organisations	
Concerned People of Bishop Lavis Action Committee	1985-	To co-ordinate the activities of organisations operating in Lavistown during the struggles of 1985	House visits Media	
Let South Africa Speak (LSAS)	1985-	To mobilise public opinion on the destructive deadlock threatening the country To encourage the man in the street and the voice of moderation to have their	Intermittent special projects related to these aims Wear yellow ribbons or stickers and with car lights on, on Mondays and Fridays.	Messrs DJ & AD Baigrie LSAS P.O. Box 160 NEWLANDS 7725

267

265

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		say To assist in promoting greater awareness of political options and constructive inter-community activities; avoiding mental colonisation by state controlled and restricted media		
Moderate People's Movement	1985-			
New Unity Movement	1985-	To build a single undivided, independent, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the interests of the workers and the rural poor shall be paramount To build the unity of workers and rural poor under the leadership of the working class in the struggle for national liberation and freedom from exploitation The dismantling of the Homelands system and of Apartheid in all its forms - political, economic, social, educational and cultural To establish a single democratic parliament To end foreign domination-political and economic-and to wage relentless battle against all local agents who serve the cause of foreign domination and exploitation	Political education and mobilisation Publications: "Bulletin": quarterly "The Origin and Development of segregation in S. Africa" W.P. van Schoor "The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest", "Nosipho Majeke", "Three Hundred years" "Mnguni" "APDUSA Views" about 4 p.a.	P.O. Box 18519 WYNBERG 7824
Ad-Hoc Committee Against New Repression Bills Defunct	1986-	To fight new security legislation proposed by SA State To mobilize educate and work towards the public rejection of the new repression Bills		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa Western Cape (IDASA)	1986-	To encourage South Africans of all races to reject apartheid and discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word To assist people to accept and work for a post-apartheid society as a way of allaying their fears To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can help the communities in the crisis of South Africa To provide forums and opportunities of a nationwide basis to find democratic solutions to South Africa's problems To assist in creating a climate for genuine negotiation towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa	Workshops, Seminars, Conferences in which whites are brought into contact with the views of the majority Research, publications and the collecting of skills and resources for various endeavours	Wayne Mitchel The National Office 1 Penzance Road MOWBRAY 7700
Branches		Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, National Office		
Free the Children Alliance	1986-	To work towards the freeing of all detained children To ensure that children will not in future be detained To create awareness on this issue nationally To find appropriate ways of expressing our concern about the violent circumstances under which children in S.A. grow	Direct action to improve child health and nutrition and reduce the mortality rate amongst very young children To ensure that children are properly fed To support, strengthen and supplement existing efforts such as provision of creches, recreational parks, running of pre-schools, play group Sharing and providing resources in the more formal educational environment To establish a children's institute to focus on problems facing children in Southern Africa	P.O. Box 73 SALT RIVER 7925

271

272

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Mbeki Reception Committee Banned	1987- 1988	To co-ordinate the welcoming activites for Govan Mbeki released from prison after 24 years	All action and activities in connection with this welcoming	
Palestine Solidarity Committee	1987-	To create a greater support-base and public awareness for the struggles of the people of Palestine	Seminars, publications	
United Stellenbosch Front (USF)	1987-	To co-ordinate progressive organisations in Stellenbosch around social and political issues	Mass Rallies, media, mobilizing the white community of Stellenbosch to fight injustices caused by apartheid	
Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (AZZACCO) Restricted	1988-	To co-ordinate the activities of Black consciousness organisations		
Cape Democrats	1988-	To strive for one person one vote in a unitary South Africa free from all forms of oppression To bring white South Africans in large numbers into an organisation committed to the democratic movement To build non-racialism in practice by creating forums where democrats from all communities can work together To broaden our understanding of democratic principles and practices through interaction with organisations of the majority To educate ourselves about the realities of our country and to overcome our fears and prejudices To speak out against the injustices of apartheid and in support of other orgs. committed to the same struggle		Organising Secretary P.O. Box 21 SALT RIVER 7925
Committee for the	1988			

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Defence of Democracy Restricted		To take up a campaign of protest against the state's proscription of 17 restricted organisations in March 1988		
Five Freedoms Forum Western Cape Region	1988-	We urge all South Africans to join us in striving towards a society these freedoms shall prevail Freedom from want Freedom from fear Freedom of speech and association Freedom of conscience Freedom from discrimination	P.O. Box 275 CAPE TOWN 8001	
Mandela Birthday Committee Restricted	1988-	To co-ordinate activities planned for celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday	Planning activities Media Publicity	
Mandela Reception Committee	1988-	Set up to prepare and co-ordinate activities around possible release of Nelson Mandela	Mass rally	
Save the Press	1988-	To pursue the objectives mentioned in our declaration To develop closer co-operation with the media in all its forms, locally, nationally and internationally and to act as a broad front against the present clampdown and restrictions To work with others towards the end of the S.O.E. under which the latest restrictions are being imposed Procure and disseminate information in accordance with the principles of our discipline, without state intervention, harrassment or detention Free access and movement in pursuing these objectives To air views and opinions of people	Training in media work, photo & news agencies	P.O. Box 15558 VLAEBERG Ph: 240 978/9

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		and organisations regardless of their political and ideological affiliation To act and campaign on behalf of any cause we consider to be humane and in the interests of the people we serve To associate with any movement or organisation in pursuing these objectives		
Save the Sharpville Six Committee Closed	1988	To campaign for the commuting of the death sentences imposed on the Sharpville Six	Rallies, petitions, media etc.	Community House 41 Salt River Road Salt River 7925
Western Cape Book Group (WCBG)	1988-	To build solidarity amongst all people involved in books, including printers, booksellers and librarians To collect information about restrictions on the media, and on the book trade in particulat To work towards the lifting of all restrictions on the media To support the objectives of the Save the Press Campaign	Petitions, pickets, press releases, campaigns against media restrictions	
Woodstock Residents Against Group Areas (WORAGA)	1988-	To campaign against group areas and the amendment Bill To inform people of issues surrounding the Group Areas amendment Bill To support those affected by the Bill To oppose all forms of forced removals in the country		
Upington Support Committee	1989-	To assist the families and dependents of the Upington 26 and those who were subsequently detained or restricted by magisterial proclamation	Support work as determined in terms of objectives	710/711 7th Floor Atlantic House Corporation Street CAPE TOWN 8000

STUDENT AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 The youth organisations listed here are those concerned in some way with social and political issues.

2 In the 'silent 1960s' four student organisations were established. They were all concerned with the achievement of justice and equality in the society. They were linked to religious and BCM groupings. In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was close linkage between the Black Consciousness Movement and the radical Christian groups, particularly through the Christian Institute. The Muslim students were apparently influenced by the death in detention of Imam Haroun in 1969 and in 1974 the more radical Muslim Students Association of South Africa was established.

3 In the 1970s nine new student organisations were established and in the first half of the 1980s twenty) three additional organiincluding several federal structures, emerged. The majority of these organisations are affiliated to one or other of the political groupings which include ideologies linked to Afrikaner, Muslim, ANC (non-racial), BCM, Unity Movement, and more explicitly socialist traditions.

4 21 new student and youth organisations across a wide political spectrum of have been formed since 1985.

5 A number of student organisations were formed during the education struggles in 1985 to co-ordinate various protest actions and political education programmes. In addition, organisations were established to address the needs of detained students and their families.

STUDENT AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
National Union of SA Students (NUSAS)	1924-	To bring students together on the basis of their studenthood advance their common interests to provide a forum for the examination and resolution of their differences	Seminars and conferences Publications Newsletter	131 Lower Main Road OBSERVATORY 7925
Afrikaanse Studentebond Defunct	1933-	Sectional student organisation open only to Afrikaners who profess Protestant Christianity and identify with the Christian national ideology of Afrikaner nationalism		
Peninsula Students' Union Defunct	1957	Opposition and total rejection of 'EISELEN - DE VOS MALAN' schooling because it was designed to create within the student ideas of inferiority and racial exclusiveness Opposition and total rejection of university apartheid Demand democratic system of education in SA	Mostly seminars and publications	
Catholic Students Association of Southern Africa (CASA)	1960-	To organise students at institutions of higher learning To build strong and responsible leadership Fostering and propagating a Christian outlook on life Striving to attain peace, justice and unity	Political Education Conferences and leadership courses	Campus Co-ordinator University of Western Cape
University Christian Movement	1967- 1972	To bring about a more equitable and just society	Conferences Formation of schools Training courses	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Organisation (SASO) Banned	1977	and understanding among all black students To heighten their sense of awareness and encourage them to become involved in politics, economics and the social development of black people To become a platform for the expression of black opinions To project the black consciousness image	Conferences and seminars Leadership training Newsletter Students relief fund	
Black Mamba Banned	1970-	To conscientise, politicise and mobilise black youth through the philosophy of BC in order to strive for their legitimate rights	Political Education	
Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa	1970-	To establish the Islamic system of life so as to achieve Allah's pleasure on earth and salvation in the Hereafter To build up and develop an Islamic personality at an individual and societal level To project the Islamic message to Muslims as well as non-Muslims	Missionary work creation of economic institutions, Islamic press and Islamic book centres Publication of literature Providing scholarships	Room 6 Raymo Building Cnr Ruth & Klipfontein Rds RYLANDS 7764
Muslim Students Association of South Africa (MSA)	1974-	To establish the comprehensive dynamic and revolutionary value system of Islam To organise and mobilise the Muslim students in order to activate the MSA projects	Weekly study circles in order to be informed about Islam and implement it Seminars, camps, conferences Establish libraries - books and audiovisuals Publications - "INQILAALS"	Room 6 Raymo Building Cnr Ruth & Klipfontein Rds RYLANDS 7764
Unity Youth	1974- 1976	To bring youth together so as to discuss social issues	Discussions Outings	
Masithethe Youth Debating Society	1975-	To encourage students to be able to express their views publicly	Debates Films Coffee Bars	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Peninsula Youth Association (PENYA)	1976-1979	Help develop a self reliant community Combat illiteracy Educate community about problems of students Find loans and bursaries	Seminars Visiting the old	
Congress of South African Students (Banned) (COSAS) Banned	1977-1985	To normalise the relationship between students, teachers and parents To create a spirit of trust and co-operation between students and parents To impress on the student the essence of his being even after completion of his studies	Workshops/seminars TB campaign Political Education Education Charter	
Youth Leadership Forum	1978-	To assist the youth in the development of practical leadership qualities ACTION SOUTH AFRICA (AKSA) To mediate between black and white political leaders and to propogate effective reform strategies to achieve a just, prosperous, equal-opportunity society by peaceful means; To liaise and mediate between black businessmen and the government with a view to removing restrictions on Black entrepreneurs and businessmen, restrictions that prevented them from entering the main stream of the private enterprise system	Seminars Media Reaching out Forums	Dr RR Tusenuis P.O. Box 322 SOMERSET WEST 7130
Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) Banned Became SANSCO	1979-1986	Black students' organisation which co-operates with progressives within the white students' community Struggles for overall liberation in SA, seeks to involve students in a wide range of community struggles, the organisation of commemoration services in honour of martyrs of the	Education Charter Political Education	University of Western Cape and University of Cape Town

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		liberation struggle, as well as in trade union support campaigns Campaigns for desegregation of education		
Political Students' Organisation (POLSTU) Defunct	1980-	Advocates the implementation of a number of reforms to a society in which all people in SA would have equal economic and social opportunities, an equal decision-making right and free association		University of Stellenbosch
South African Students Association	1980-	Development of leadership, political and student awareness at all black schools, colleges and universities Work towards a new social order for a free Azania	Support of Release Mandela Campaign Protest against detentions Republic Day Festival protest	
Young Christian Students (YCS)	1980-	Religion is a whole life experience and it should be concerned with the transformation of society	Study weekends Political Education	YCS C/o U.C.T.
Athlone Youth Movement Defunct	1981-	To free society from oppression and exploitation To strike alongside with older workers in their struggle to defend their living standards To aid the struggle of all workers by collecting funds and playing a big role in boycott campaigns	Health and fitness classes Modern Jazz dance classes Drama classes Karate classes Table tennis Film and lectures History and debating	
Mitchells Plain Youth Movement	1981- 1983	To organise and provide activities for youth To provide a channel for criticism Provide a materialist understanding of South African society and to install the need to commit oneself to	Workshops Political Education	P.O. Box 745 WESTRIDGE 7802

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		active participation in the political struggle		
Ravensmead Student Youth Organisation	1981-	To make the youth more aware and involved in the community To give tactical guidelines	Library Campaign TB Campaign	The Library RAVENSMEAD
Students Union for Christian Action (SUCA)	1981-	To help christians discover what it means to be true disciples of Christ in SA today by providing the theological, educational experience, fellowship and practical resources necessary for this purpose	Publications Practical work Workshops Political Education	P.O. Box 5 ATHLONE 7764
Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM)	1983-	To conscientise, politicise and mobilise Black students through the philosophy of Black consciousness in order to strive for their legitimate rights To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively to the needs of Azanians To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle To promote and encourage research into various problems affecting the struggle	Study project of full time students and students who study through correspondence Political education Leadership training courses	46 Halt Road ELSIES RIVER 7490
Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Restricted	1983-	To unite all youth in the Cape To represent the social, economic and political aspirations of the youth To establish organisationsal ties with the youth in other areas, regions/provinces with similar aims and objectives as CAYCO To normalise the relationship between	Political Education Newsletter	Community House Salt River Road SALT RIVER

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		youth and parents To create a spirit of trust, responsibility, understanding and love for the people among the youth		
Affiliates		Ocean View Youth; Lavender Hill Youth, Steenberg Youth; Lotus River/Grassy Park Youth; Wynberg Youth; Lansdowne Youth; Hanover Park Youth; Rocklands Youth; Portlands Youth; Westridge Youth; Lentegeur Youth; Tafelberg Youth; Silvertown Youth; Heideveld Youth; Bonteheuwel Youth; Kensington/Factreton Youth; Tafelsig Youth; Belhar Youth; Bellville Youth; Elsies River Youth; KTC Youth New Crossroads Youth; Nyanga Youth; Guguletu Sections 1,2,3,4, Langa, Mpetha Square, Thornhill, Bo-Kaap, District Six, Ravenmead, Kewtown, Belgravia		
Inter Church Youth (ICY) Became WPCC-ICY in 1989	1983-1989	To strive towards unity among Christians To enrich their understanding of the Faith through joint action and reflection To help young people discover the joy of the Lord to be found in service to their fellow brothers and sisters To make the Church and society aware of the needs and aspirations of the young To make young people realise the importance of their participation in the decision-making in the Church and community To be the forum for sharing of resources, problems and activities	Workshops (spiritually and socially nourishing)	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925
Kuilsriver Youth Wing	1983-	To discuss matters that are of concern to the youth and community To assist in the function of the civic association To raise funds in order to carry out the educational and organisational task To provide a platform for cultural activities	Workshops, videos, Discussions and Debates Fund-raising	Ph: 903 3705

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Western Cape Youth League Defunct	1983-	To oppose all forms of exploitation and oppression To work towards a principled unity with all progressive organisations on issues which affect the lives of the exploited and oppressed To provide cultural and recreational outlets and forums for all young workers and students both to stimulate interest in the society and to enrich the lives of workers and students	Political Education	
Paarl Students Association (PASA)	1984-	To encourage the active participation of Paarl students attending UWC in progressive organisation	Political education	
Students of Young Azania (SOYA)	1984-	To create cultural forums so as to develop talents and abilities to instill a sense of self-confidence and purpose in life To create channels to show resistance and strength in an organised way To promote the class struggle of the workers	Political Education	P.O. Box 5322 CAPE TOWN 8000
Athlone and District Youth Forum	1985-	To unite worker and student youth in the Athlone area To sustain and heighten the political consciousness of youth through informal education To play an active role in the community together with other progressive organisations To cater for cultural, recreational needs of youth	Political Education	
Azanian Youth Unity				
Black Students Study	1985-	An organization that is involved in	Social Education and communication	6 Alsimo Building

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Project (BSSP)		a range of programmes directed at the oppressed and exploited community Specifically students	programmes to teach those who cannot speak Xhosa so as to bridge the gap created by apartheid. Seminars, pamphlets, Panel discussions	46 Halt Road ELSIES RIVER 7490
Inter-Regional Forum	1985-			
Interschools Co-ordinating Committee (ISCC) Later became part of WECSAC	1985-	Ad Hoc co-ordinating committee set up to co-ordinate activities of approximately 25 schools during the 1985 school boycotts	Mostly Co-ordination	
Masincedane Youth Club	1985-	To fight against forced removals	Meetings with Crossroads people Giving shelter to squatters Collecting for funerals Supplying food, blankets and clothes	
National Tertiary Institutions	1985-			
Pupils Awareness and Action Group (PAAG) Closed	1985- 1987	To educate one another about society under apartheid To explore alternatives to apartheid through uniting pupils in peaceful and constructive action	Meetings Picketing	
Students Emergency Relief Fund (SERG)	1985	To provide relief for student victims of state repression		
Surrey Estate Youth Congress Defunct	1985-			
UWC Support Group	1985-			
Western Cape Schools Organisation	1985-			

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Western Cape Students Action Committee (WECSAC) Defunct Action Committees: ASAC; Belsac; Bisco; Elsac; Hapsac; Helsac; Logsac; Mitchell's Plain Action Committee; Netsac; Vista Ad Hoc	1985	To co- the activities of sch ing the school boycotts in 198	Co-ordinate school boycotts of '85	
Western Cape Students Council Became Western Cape Students Congress in 1986	1985			
Jeugkrag S.A.	1986-	To mobilize moderate youth in support of government reform programme	Arrange forums where various youth groups come together	
Moderate Students Movement	1986-	To challenge the hegemony of NUSAS at the universities	Consists mostly of activities aimed at providing students with an alternative to NUSAS	C/o M.S.M. University of Cape Town RONDEBOSCH
South African National Students Congress (SANSCO)	1986-			
Western Cape Students Congress (WECSCO)	1986-	To unite all students in the Western Cape Political education To take up the demands of students in Western Cape To strive for the formation of a national student organisation To organise students so that they can play a meaningful role in the national	Organising at schools Taking up students demands at school level Political Education Media	Community House 41 Salt River Road SALT RIVER 7925

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		democratic struggle		
Mowbray Youth Congress (MOYCO)	1987-	To involve primarily white youth in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic S.A. To inculcate in youth the principles of non-racialism and democracy To work with other youth groups with similar aims and objectives	Sport Non-racial contact Political education Media	
Western Province Tertiary SRC'S	1987-	To co-ordinate the activities of all S.R.C.'s at colleges in the Western Province	Provide forum for S.R.C.'s to come together to discuss common problems	C/o Peninsula Technicon S.R.C. Peninsula Technicon
Youth for S.A.	1987-	Conservative youth organization		
Democratic Student Front	1988-	To unite all the progressive student organisations under the banner of DSF, and to take issues of common concern affecting all students at UWC Promote the principles of non-racialism and democracy on and off campus To raise the political awareness and foster a commitment of all students towards the oppressed community To reaffirm the Freedom Charter as our guiding document	Student mobilization Political education Media	C/o SRC University of the Western Cape P.O. Box X17 BELLVILLE 7530
Mitchell's Plain Student Movement				
Mitchell's Plain Student Association				
Gardens Youth Congress (GAYCO)				

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

PRELIMINARY NOTES

1 According to our data no new women's organisations were formed from 1960 to the mid-1970s. In the second half of the 1970s five new organisations were established. The Women's Movement for Peace was formed in response to the 1976 educational revolt and is concerned with the promotion of improved race relations. The Federation of Black Women was linked to the BCM and the Women's Committee Crossroads came out of the squatter struggles at the time. In the early 1980s a further five women's organisations were established. Two of these, the United Women's Organisation and the Women's Front, were linked to explicit political action, while the Women's Bureau of South Africa were concerned with discrimination and the legal status of women. The Kaapse Vroueklub is concerned with improved race relations.

2 As with most of the categories of voluntary associations presented here, little research has been done into women's organisations and their histories. The list of organisations however does indicate that the women's organisations are engaged in either a social service, pressure group or self)help function. (These functions were discussed in Section One.)

3 6 new womens' organisations have been formed since 1985. This indicates the growing awareness of the political implications of womens' issues within religious, academic, political and worker organisations. For example, womens' desks have been established within the WPCC, an affiliate of the South African Council of Churches, COSATU and the UDF.

4 The establishment of the Federation of of South African Women (FEDSAW) in the Western Cape, is part of an attempt to re- constitute the FEDSAW regionally and nationally.

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereeniging (ACVV)				
National Council of Women in South Africa	1909-	To co-ordinate efforts of affiliated and related organisations for effective, concerted action around issues relevant to the community To promote interests of women especially regarding their legal disabilities	Compiles and distributes info on current issues especially issues affecting women and children Monthly publication	CTC Building Plein Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Union of Jewish Women	1932-	To provide a framework within which women can contribute to the society in which they live in the name of the Jewish community and in the spirit of Jewish tradition To promote goodwill and better understanding among all sections of the population of South Africa To assist in the furtherance of Jewish and general education in South Africa To act as a representative organisation of all Jewish women To provide a platform for the discussion of subjects of Jewish and general interest To promote social welfare work for all sections of the community in South Africa	Creches - Kensington Elsies River and Manenberg Adult Education Senior Citizens club Bargain Shop Community Services Division	Stonehaven 7 Albany Road SEA POINT Ph: 44 9555/6 P.O. Box 4993 SEA POINT 8001
National Council of African Women	1937-		Selling of Kupugani foodstuffs Literacy campaign Building health bar Visiting the old	
Federation of South	1954-	To struggle against apartheid, racism	Anti-pass campaign	

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
African Women		sexism and capitalist exploitation	Group areas and resettlement Rent increases Bantu education campaign Campaign against beer-halls	
The Black Sash	1955-	To promote justice and the principles of parliamentary democracy in South Africa To seek constitutional recognition and protection by law of human rights and liberties for all To further the political education and enlightenment of South African citizens and others To undertake whatever other activities that may further the objectives of the organisation	Running the Black Sash advice office Protests in the form of demonstrations, press statements, protest meetings Symposia and conferences Quarterly magazine - SASH	5 Long Street MOWBRAY 7700
Rondeberg Business and Professional Women's	1955-	To provide a high standard of service from business and professional women and to ensure its continuity To fight for equal status in the economic and political spheres To encourage women to further their training and gain technical skills To present the views of women to government and provincial bodies as far as the laws that affect them	Fight for legislation that improves the position of women (tax, divorce) Career guidance work	P.O. Box 80 RONDEBOSCH 7700
Women's Centre Rondebosch	1975-1976	The need for women's issues and life experiences to be highlighted	Resource centre for all kinds of women Notices for activities Notices for accommodation Referral centre Advice and encouragement for further education Library	Mrs Hilary Rosenthal Family Focus 4 Selby Road MOWBRAY 7700

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
Federation of Black Women in South Africa Banned	1976-1977			
Women's Movement for Peace Affiliated to FEDSAW - Western Cape Region	1976-	To promote communication, contact, understanding and harmony among all people of South Africa To work towards a society of equal opportunity and justice for all the people of South Africa	House meetings featuring guest speakers or videos to promote awareness and communication Community projects such as a Study Centre in Nyanga, and old age home in Langa, creche in Khayelitsha Acting as a pressure group on human rights issues Liaising with other organisations involved in these issues Monthly play afternoons for children from all over Cape Town	Ursula Barnett P.O. Box 23394 CLAREMONT 7735 Ph: 53 1926 (w)
Rape Crisis	1977-	To educate the public about rape and other forms of women abuse	Training programme Counselling Educational talks Setting up a shelter for battered women	P.O. Box 15496 VLAEBERG 8018
Women's Committee Crossroads Closed	1979-1981	To look at how women could help and contribute to the struggle of the area	Helping with burials	
Die Kaapse Vroueklub	1981-	To promote mutual interests through organising of activities, use of established aid and sustaining linkage with other organisations that have similar objectives	Meetings with guest speakers Bible study group	Mrs C Anderson 118 Campground Road RONDEBOSCH 7700
United Women's Organisation (UWO) disbanded and merged with women's front in 1986 to form UWCO	1981-1986	To participate in the struggle for full and equal democratic rights for all To work on practical activities affect the day-to-day problems of people in oppressed communities	Taking up issues which directly affect people in their areas which For example Bread-price campaign KTC raids Protest against Orderly Movement and	88A Station Road OBSERVATORY

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To involve women in solving problems that affect them in the community and at their places of work To struggle for the removal of all racial and sexual discrimination and economic exploitation	Resettlement Bill Eviction in Claremont	
Women's Bureau of South Africa	1981-	To eliminate discrimination against women To improve the socio-economic situation of all women in South Africa	Newsletter Resource Centre for information on employment, women's legal status Referral office for women with problems	Old Mutual Building Darling Street CAPE TOWN 8001
Nomzamo Crossroads	1982-1983	To link the new and old Crossroads To monitor what was going on in a much broader level and linking with other women's groups	Self-help projects - crochet and sewing groups Creche Community restaurant Burials	
Women's Front disbanded and merged UWO in 1986 to form (UWCO)	1982-1986	To participate in the struggle for full and equal democratic rights for all	Take up issues which directly affect people in their areas Disorderly Bill Action Committee KTC Bush Squatters	
Women's Alternatives	1983-1984	To teach self-assertiveness, communication skills and identifying needs	Workshops aimed at personal growth and self-awareness, interpersonal communication skills and assertive behaviour skills Individual counselling with the same objectives	23 Mains Avenue KENILWORTH
Womenpower Resource Centre	1985-	To encourage women to participate fully, effectively and happily in the world of work To identify the major issues and needs of both working women, their employers and to provide information, training and practical help	Career Planning and Development Programme - aimed at career planners, career changers, re-entering women, job-hunters and "career women" who need help - every individual is entitled to the first consultation free of charge	172 Main Road CLAREMONT

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		To act as catalyst to stimulate research and where appropriate, motivate change	Work experience Project This programme will take a selected number of women who would benefit by the opportunity to upgrade their skills e.g. learn new skills like communication skills etc., and get experience of a genuine administrative/office environment Small Business Project - This programme is aimed at women who would like to be self-employed A three phase programme is envisaged Corporate Programme - a service to organisations who would like to develop their "womenpower"	
South African Women's League				
National Assembly of Women	1986-	To facilitate contact between various women's groups on a local, national and international level	Workshops Seminars	
UDF Women's Congress	1986-	To unite the various women's organisations affiliated to the U.D.F. To bring together constituent organisations in a forum	Educational, media work etc.	
United Women's Congress (UWCO)	1986-	To unite all women regardless of education, occupation, colour or religion in common action to remove all political, cultural, social and sexual oppression and economic exploitation To encourage all women to participate in the struggle for full and equal democratic rights for all, and for an end to racial and sexual		

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		discrimination and economic exploitation To encourage the organisation of women wherever they are to be found in schools, hospitals, homes, on the farms, in every town, city, and in the countryside To concentrate on grassroots activities which involve the day-to-day problems of people in oppressed communities For the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions, customs that discriminate against us as women and that deprive us in any way of our inherent right to all advantage and opportunities that society offers To encourage women to involve themselves in solving problems and matters affecting them in the community and places of work To strive for unity and to cooperate with other organisations with similar aims and objects		
Women Against Repression (WAR)	1986-	To organise women around and conscientise society about the economic, legal, cultural, racial and social attitudes that oppress women and how this contributes to the general oppression under which we live	Educational activities newsletters	P.O. Box 436 SALT RIVER 7925
Federation of South African Women Western Cape Region (FEDSAW)	1987-	We shall strive for women to obtain The right to vote and to be elected to all state bodies, without restriction or discrimination	Media, mass rallies	P.O. Box 207 ATHLONE 7764

NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
		The right to full opportunities for employment with equal pay and possibilities of promotion in all spheres of work		
		Equal rights with men in relation to property, marriage and children and for the removal of all laws and customs that deny women such equal rights		
		For the development of every child through free maternity homes, welfare clinics, creches and nursery schools, in countryside towns: through proper homes for all, and through the provisions of water, light, transport, sanitation and other amenities of modern civilization		
		For the removal of all laws that restrict free movement, that prevent or hinder the right of free association and activity in democratic organisations, and the right to participate in the work of these organisations		
		To build and strengthen women's sections in the National Liberatory Movement, the organisation of women in trade-unions and through the people's varied organisations		
		To co-operate with all other organizations that have similar aims in S.A. as well as throughout the world		
		To strive for permanent peace throughout the world		

315

316

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NAME OF ORGANISATION	LIFESPAN	AIMS	MAIN ACTIVITIES	CONTACTS/ADDRESSES
UWC Women's Studies Group				
UCT Gender Studies Group				

317

318

IN CONCLUSION

The data presented here has opened up a wide range of 'why' questions which we have not tried to answer in this study. It will be important to try to answer these questions as they apply to specific organisations and specific periods through detailed and intensive research. We hope that this publication, plus an accessible data bank of information which has been developed by the CORE project, will play some part in stimulating further research in this area of study.

ORGANISATION INDEX

page 84 1820 Settlers Association
76 Abantu Arts Association
128 Abortion Reform Action
107 Ad Hoc Detention Action Committe (ADAC)
124 Ad-Hoc Academic Boycott Committee
139 Ad-Hoc Committee Against New Repression Bills
101 Adult Learning Project (ALP)
114 Advice Bureau on Military Conscription (ABMC)
114 Advice Office Forum (AOF)
136 African National Congress
136 African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA)
133 African Pre-primary School Teachers Association
93 Africans Scholars Fund
156 Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereeniging (ACVV)
133 Afrikaanse Geletterdheid
145 Afrikaanse Studentebond
85 Alateen
85 Alcoholics Anonymous
90 Alcoholics Victorious
100 Association for Guidance and Assistance to Pupils (AGAP)
107 Association for Pre-school Education, Care & Training (ASPECT)
96 Association of Couples for Marriage Enrichment
108 Association of Retired Persons and Pensioners
116 Athlone Action Fundraising Committee
157 Athlone and District Youth Forum

116	Athlone Education Crisis Committee
138	Athlone People's Action Committee
117	Athlone Resource Centre
148	Athlone Youth Movement
141	Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (AZZACCO)
137	Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)
149	Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM)
147	Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO)
157	Azanian Youth Unity
117	Beauty without Cruelty
133	Belhar Islamic Trust
114	Bellville Community Health Project
117	Bellville Crisis Centre
95	Belydende Kring
64	Bishop Lavis Action Committee
77	Bishop Lavis Cultural Society
68	Black Community Programmes
77	Black Literature and Arts Congress
146	Black Mamba
136	Black People's Convention (BPC)
88	Black Sash Advice Office (Athlone Advice Office)
157	Black Students Study Project (BSSP)
65	Bo-Kaap Action Group (BO-KAG)
90	Board of Social Responsibility of Anglican Church
63	Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown, Kewtown Residents Association (BBSK)
117	Bonteheuwel Parents Support Group

99 Breast Feeding Association
80 BUCHU Books
68 Build A Better Society (BABS)
138 Call of Islam
99 Caminploy Staff Service
138 Cape Action League (CAL)
137 Cape Anti-SAIC Committee Disorderly BillsAction Committee
62 Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC)
141 Cape Democrats
117 Cape Educational Computer Society (CECS)
79 Cape Flats Cultural Society
117 Cape Jewish Seniors Association
64 Cape Muslim Vigilance Association
90 Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA)
67 Cape Town City Mission
117 Cape Town Drug Action Committee
79 Cape Town North Cultural Society
108 Cape Town Trade Union Library
149 Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO)
97 Careers Research and Information Centre (CRIC)
105 Careerwise
133 Cassette Education Trust (CASET)
128 Catholic Educational Aid Programme
145 Catholic Students Association of Southern Africa (CASA)
67 Catholic Welfare Bureau (CWB)
118 Centre for Adult & Continuing Education (CACE)

326

325

92 Centre for Intergroup Studies
131 Child Care Information Centre
96 Christelike Alkoholiste Diens
90 Christian Education Leadership and Training (CELT)
67 Christian Institute of South Africa
69 Churches Urban Planning Commission
89 Citizen's Advice Bureau
85 Civil Rights League
118 Clothing Workers Union (CLOWU)
112 Committee Against Racism and Sexism in Education (CARE)
141 Committee for the Defence of Democracy
68 Community Action Trust
74 Community Arts Project (CAP)
124 Community Development Resource Association (CDRA)
128 Community Research Education Resources (CER)
98 Community Video Resource Association (CVRA)
69 Compassion
118 Concerned Doctors Action Committee (CODAC)
118 Concerned Engineers and Quantity Surveyors
124 Concerned Parents Committee
128 Concerned Parents Committee
138 Concerned People of Bishop Lavis Action Committee
147 Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
80 Congress of South African Writers - Western Cape Region (COSAW)
112 Conscientious Objectors Support Group (COSG)

115 Council for Black Education and Research Trust (COBERT)
78 Cultural Action Group
80 Cultural Workers Congress
88 Defence and Aid Fund
154 Democratic Student Front
118 Democratic Teachers Union (DETU)
89 Dependants Conference
108 Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC)
132 Detainees Treatment Centre
128 Development Action Group (DAG)
67 Diakonale Dienste
105 Dial-A-Mum
158 Die Kaapse Vroueklub
128 Disabled People SA
109 Divorce Workshop
106 Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEP)
98 Domestic Workers Association (DWA)
98 Down's Syndrome Association
78 Drama Outreach Project
94 Early Learning Resource Unit
119 Education for an aware SA (EDASA)
132 Education, Advice, Health Resource Unit (EAHRU)
102 Education, Research and Information Centre (ERIC)
63 Electricity Petition Committee of Mitchells Plain (EPC)
64 Elsies River Co-ordinating Committee

329

330

119 English-Speaking Parents Association
133 Eyoluntu Co-ordinating Committee
88 Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA)
86 Family Planning Association
158 Federation of Black Women in South Africa
62 Federation of Cape Civic Associations
124 Federation of Parent Teacher - Student Association PTSA'S Western Cape
156 Federation of South African Women
161 Federation of South African Women Western Cape Region (FEDSAW)
77 Film Education Unit
142 Five Freedoms Forum Western Cape Region
102 Food Allergies and Information Society
133 Food Gardens Unlimited
119 Foundation for Co-operative Development
70 Foundation for Social Development (FSD)
140 Free the Children Alliance
128 Friends of District Six
133 GASA - Counselling Service
109 Gay Association of SA (GASA)
154 GAYCO
99 General Workers Aid Service
128 Goldfields Centre
94 Grassroots Educare Trust
102 Grassroots Publications
129 Hands - Off District Six Campaign

74 Hanover Park Drama Society
160 Health Care Trust
119 Health Workers Advice Office
103 Health Workers Society
119 Health Workers Union
119 Health, Education and Welfare Society of South Africa (HEWSSA)
65 Heideveld & Manenberg Crisis Committee
134 HIV Positive Support Group
95 Housewives League of South Africa
106 Human Awareness Programme
120 Human Relations Centre
103 Industrial Health Research Group (IHRIG)
85 Insitute of Citizenship
109 Institute for Social Development (ISD)
150 Inter Church Youth (ICY)
125 Inter Faith Forum
152 Inter-Regional Forum
112 International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG)
152 Interschools Co-ordinating Committee (ISCC)
70 Islamic Council of SA
71 Islamic Da'wah Movement
120 Islamic Relief Agency
70 Jaame Association
153 Jeugkrag S.A.
84 Jewish Board of Guardians
115 Jews for Justice

334

333

124 Joint PTSA National Association
121 Journalist Solidarity Committee
93 Justice and Peace Commission
125 Kagiso Trust
100 Koeberg Alert
150 Kuilsriver Youth Wing
89 Kupugani
106 Labour History Group
125 Labour Research Service (LRS)
79 Lansdowne Madressa Cultural Society
79 Latin American Solidarity Network (LUCHA)
129 Lawyers for Human Rights
125 Legal Education Action Project (LEAP)
113 Legal Resource Centre (LRC)
138 Let South Africa Speak (LSAS)
92 Life Line
113 Lilacs
78 Lingelihle Drama Group
109 Link-up
87 Lions Club International
77 Loyiso Music Group
92 Majisush Shura Al Islami
142 Mandela Birthday Committee
142 Mandela Reception Committee
65 Manenberg Action Committee
106 Manenberg Educational Movement

132 Manenberg Research Project
89 Manna Community Food Service
100 Marriage Encounter
103 Masifundise
152 Masincedane Youth Club
146 Masithethe Youth Debating Society
72 Masizakhe
141 Mbeki Reception Committee
96 MERGE
94 Metropolitan Action for Citizens
129 Mfesane Western Cape
113 Mission of Churches for Community Development (MCCD)
154 Mitchell's Plain Student Association
154 Mitchell's Plain Student Movement
121 Mitchells Plain Counter-Propaganda Committee
148 Mitchells Plain Youth Movement
139 Moderate People's Movement
153 Moderate Students Movement
101 Molo Songololo
70 Montagu en Ashton Gemeenskapdiens (MAG)
109 Movement of Christian Workers (MCW)
154 Mowbray Youth Congress
154 MOYCO
79 Musical Action for Peoples Power (MAPP)
97 Muslim Assembly
84 Muslim Judicial Council

146 Muslim Students Association of South Africa (MSA)
146 Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa
160 National Assembly of Women
129 National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL)
115 National Committee Against Removals (NCAR)
156 National Council of African Women
156 National Council of Women in South Africa
132 National Detainees Forum-Western Cape Region
134 National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA)
126 National Language Project (NLP)
110 National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)
81 National Sports Congress (NSC)
152 National Tertiary Institutions
126 National Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee - Western Cape
145 National Union of SA Students (NUSAS)
92 Negotiating Skills Program
121 New School
139 New Unity Movement
71 New World Foundation
121 Newspaper Vendors Advice Office
77 Nobuntu Music Group
159 Nomzamo Crossroads
136 Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM)
113 Novo Aid
76 Ntsikana
115 Nurses' Support Group

76 Nyanga Art Centre
77 Ocean View Pen Circle
68 Open Door
97 Operation Upgrade
121 Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in S.A. (OASSSA)
84 Organisation for Rehabilitation through training (ORT)
126 Organizations Against Traitors (OUT)
157 Paarl Students Association (PASA)
141 Palestine Solidarity Committee
136 Pan African Congress (PAC)
121 Parent Action Committee
104 Parent Effective Training
122 Parent-Teachers-Students Association
104 Parentcraft
88 Peninsula School Feeding Association
145 Peninsula Students' Union
147 Peninsula Youth Association (PENYA)
101 Philani Nutrition Centre
134 Phillipi Resource Centre
104 Phoenix Society
130 Plain Aid
148 Political Students' Organisation (POLSTU)
152 Pupils Awareness and Action Group (PAAG)
74 Qavane Family Music
106 Qibla Muslim Movement
67 Quaker Service

158 Rape Crisis
122 Ravensmead Monitoring Group
149 Ravensmead Student Youth Organisation
122 Ravensmead Worker Advice Bureau
76 Ravensmead Youth Library Action Committee (RYLAC)
111 Read Educate and Develop (READ)
126 Regional Literacy Co-operation Committee
138 Release Mandela Committee
86 Religious Society of Friends
122 Repression Monitoring Group (RMG)
104 Retreat Legal Aid Office
157 Rondeberg Business and Professional Women's
130 Rural Legal Services Project
88 SA Committee for Higher Education (SACHED)
107 SA Domestic Workers Association (SADWA)
84 SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR)
95 SA Voluntary Euthanasia Society
127 Save Bradley from Prison Committee
142 Save the Press
143 Save the Sharpville Six Committee
101 Savio Adult Education Centre
62 Schotschekloof Civic Association
77 Sea View Cultural Society
72 Self-help Development Programme
132 Shalom Diaconte (Shadia)
122 Single Parents Action Group

76 Sisonke Cultural Movement
134 Social and Community Action Trust Funding Agency (SCAT)
133 Social Worker's Forum
97 South African Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals (SAAAPEA)
99 South African Council for Catholic Social Service (SACCSS)
137 South African Council of Sport (SACOS)
93 South African Diabetes Association
153 South African National Students Congress (SANSCO)
71 South African National Zakaat Fund
148 South African Students Association
145 South African Students Organisation (SASO)
80 South African Tertiary Institutions (SATISCO)
160 South African Women's League
86 South Peninsula Educational Fellowship
104 Southern African Labour Development Research Unit (SALDRU)
94 St Francis Adult Education Centre
104 St Lukes Hospice
127 Stream Education Movement
152 Students Emergency Relief Fund (SERG)
151 Students of Young Azania (SOYA)
149 Students Union for Christian Action (SUCA)
97 Suid-Afrikaanse Vereenigin Teen Pynlike Eksperimente op Diere (SAVTPED)
116 Surplus People's Project (SPP)
152 Surrey Estate Youth Congress
133 Talking Newspapers
105 Teachers Action Committee

345

346

111 Technical Assistance Project (TAP)
78 Teenage Harmonies
157 The Black Sash
98 The Crypt Centre
111 The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)
140 The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa Western Cape (IDASA)
86 The National Cancer Association of SA
114 The Parent Centre
76 The Peoples Space
78 Thembaletu Drama Group
112 Theology Exchange Programme (TEP)
67 TOC H
130 Transport Co-ordinating Committee
163 UCT Gender Studies Group
93 UCT Legal Aid Clinic
105 UCT- SRC Resource Centre
160 UDF Women's Congress
107 Ulwazi Christian Association
63 Umbrella Rentals Committee
127 Unemployed Workers Movement
127 Unemployed Workers Union
156 Union of Jewish Women
138 United Democratic Front (UDF)
141 United Stellenbosch Front (USF)
160 United Women's Congress (UWCO)
158 United Women's Organisation (UWO)

146 Unity Youth
145 University Christian Movement
130 University of the Western Cape Association of Democratic Educators (UWCADE)
43 Upington Support Committee
97 Urban Foundation
101 Urban Problems Research Unit-UCT (UPRU)
127 Use Spoken and Written English (USWE)
134 UWC - SRC Resource Centre
105 UWC - Teaching Centre
163 UWC Gender Studies Group
152 UWC Support Group
163 UWC Women's Studies Group
78 Vakalisa
69 Veritas
105 Voluntary Aid Bureau
114 Vukuhambe Cripple Association
116 Vumani Preschool Project
94 Wages and Economics Commission
123 West Coast Council of Churches
79 Western Cape Arts Collective
143 Western Cape Book Group (WCBG)
63 Western Cape Civic Associations
133 Western Cape Education
69 Western Cape Foundation for Community Work (FCW)
123 Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA)
96 Western Cape Institute for Social Research

152 Western Cape Schools Organisation
84 Western Cape Society for Early Childhood
65 Western Cape Squatters Residents Association
153 Western Cape Students Action Committee (WECSAC
153 Western Cape Students Council (WECSCO)
123 Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU)
151 Western Cape Youth League
95 Western Province Advice Bureau
123 Western Province Black Sports Field Association
93 Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC)
92 Western Province Retirement Council
154 Western Province Tertiary SRC'S
105 Whole Health Institute
107 Wholistic Health Centre
88 Widows/Widowers Caring Service
161 Women Against Repression (WAR)
159 Women's Alternatives
159 Women's Bureau of South Africa
157 Women's Centre Rondebosch
158 Women's Committee Crossroads
159 Women's Front
158 Women's Movement for Peace
159 Womenpower Resource Centre
71 Woodstock Advice Office
72 Woodstock Residents Against Group Areas (WORAGA)
64 Woodstock Saltriver Walmer Estate Residents Association

92 World Vision of Southern Africa
128 Wynberg Crisis Committee
131 Wynberg Resource Centre
148 Young Christian Students (YCS)
86 Young Christian Workers (YCW)
85 Young Men's Christian Association
124 Young Workers Education Project
154 Youth for S.A.
147 Youth Leadership Forum
99 Zakhe
95 Zinatul Islamic Guidance
76 Zolani Drama Group

NOTES

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8 For example, Jeff Bishop and Paul Hoggett 1986 *Organising Around Enthusiasms. Mutual Aid in Leisure* Comedia: Britain

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13 Dludla *op. cit.* No. 6. He does not elaborate on the voluntary associations which people belong to over 87% of his respondents belonged to some voluntary associations.

14 Popo Molefe 'Responses to State Strategy' in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*

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23 F. Piven and R. Cloward 1977 *Regulating the Poor* U.S.A.: Pantheon

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27 *Op. cit.* p. 12

28 *Op. cit.* p. 511

29 *Op. cit.* p. 264

30 Rogers Carl 1970 *Encounter Groups*, U.S.A. Penguin Press

31 Lovett Tom, Chris Clarke and Avila Kilmurray 1983 *Adult Education and Community Action* London: Croom Helm

32 Johan Maree 'Democracy and oligarchy in the independent trade unions in Transvaal and the Western Province General Workers Union in the 1970s' Unpubl. paper Centre for African Studies U.C.T. 1983, summarises Michels work very adequately.

33 *Ibid.*

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35 For example Johnson and The Wolfenden Committee *op. cit.*

36 *Ibid.* p. 7

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38 *Op. cit.* p. 98

39 John Cowley 'The politics of community organising' in John Cowley, Adah Kaye and Majorie Mayo ed. 1977 *Community or Class Struggle*? Britain: Stage One

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42 *Op. cit.* 1976

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44 This is summarised adequately in Perlman 1980

45 *Op. cit.* p. 24

46 For example Paul Blumberg 1973 *Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation* New York: Schocken

47 Chris Argyris 'Personality and organisation revisited' in *Administrative Science Quarterly* 18: 141-67

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49 *Ibid.* p. 15

50 Kindervatter Suzanne 1979 *Nonformal Education as an Empowering Process* U.S.A.: Center for International Education University of Massachusetts.

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53 Dan O'Meara 'Muldergate and the politics of Afrikaner nationalism' in *Work in Progress* No. 22 1982; Linda Chisholm 'Redefining Skills: Black Education in South Africa in the 1980s' in Peter Kallaway 1984 *Apartheid and Education. The Education of Black South Africans* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

54 Lodge Tom 1983 *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945* Johannesburg: Ravan Press p. 328

55 The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 led to a sudden expansion of student numbers with the establishment of two new African University Colleges, one for Indians and one for coloureds.

56 The BCM is discussed by Gerhart Gail 1978 *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* U.S.A.: University of California Press, also Baruch Hirson 1979 *Year of Fire Year of Ash. The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution* Britain: Zed Press

57 See *South African Outlook* Jan. 1974

58 Analyses of the Soweto revolt have differed according to the ideological premises of the writers. For example, John Kane-Berman 1978 *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, saw the most important factors being the influence of BC ideology and the crisis of rising expectations. On the other hand Hirson's argument plays down the importance of BCM as instigator, and he places at the centre of the historical stage the reassertion of African working class militancy which instilled a new feeling of self-confidence in the urban community. Undoubtedly the occurrences both inside and outside the country which contributed to the events which began on the 16 June 1976 included the development of the BCM, the reemergence of working class militancy, the effects of political arrests, detentions and trials in 1974 and 1975, the liberation of Mozambique and Angola on the borders of SA, and the conditions in the schools.

59 Lodge p. 339 *op. cit.*

60 Hirson p. 328 *op. cit.*

61 O'Meara p. 5 *op. cit.*

62 The usual sources of funding for community organisations were via church organisations, like the SACC, overseas foundations either linked to governments, churches or corporations, or local business enterprise. There was deep suspicion of the Urban Foundation which related both to its origins and its modus operandi. The UF was born out of 1976 revolt on the one hand, and on the other it seemed to want as much 'mileage' as possible for its sponsorship. Organisations not dependent on this source of funding were very critical of those who were. The divisions and hostility the UF engendered

appears to be peculiar to the greater Cape Town area, and it requires careful study if we are to understand the responses from organisations at that time more clearly.

63 *South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Survey* 1978 p. 480

64 In a talk by Trevor Manuel at U.C.T. on 'Community Organisation' on 28/9/82, it was suggested that activists who were detained, used the time in detention to discuss and reflect of their previous strategies. Murpheson Morobe in 'Situating the educational struggle' in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.* mentions the experience of students jailed for seven years on Robben Island, who returned with different perpectives on strategy.

65 For example, M. Legassik 'South African capital accumulation and violence' in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY August 1974, and H. Wolpe 'Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa' in ECONOMY AND SOCIETY vol. 1 no. 4 1972.

66 For example, J. S. Saul and S. Gelb 1981 THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA: CLASS DEFENCE AND CLASS REVOLUTION New York: Monthly Review Press

67 There is ongoing debate around these issues; the establishment of the UDF, the National Forum and the Cape Action League demonstrates the deep divisions amongst the left around these questions.

68 There is no written history of the U.C.T. Women's Movement; in an interview with an ex-member, she stated that a visit to the campus in 1975 by a leading North American feminist, Juliet Mitchell, had given the movement an important impetus; and the members read the feminist writers like Sheila Rowbotham 1974 *Women, Resistance and Revolution* U.S.A.: Penguin.

69 Goran Therborn 1980 *The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology* London: Verso Editions p. 78

70 For example material already mentioned, plus local community and student newspapers like *Grassroots*, and *SASPU National* and *SASPU Focus*; also UDF and CAL newsletters and other more ad hoc publications.

71 The word 'activist' is used to describe a person actively involved in worker and/or community organisations. The 12 activists have been interviewed during the last part of 1984 and in early 1985. Six of the interviewees had had links with the churches during the 1970s this included the Catholic, the Moravian, the Methodist and Anglican churches, with one working for the Christian Institute, and another attending the NYLTP course. Three of the interviewees had had previous links with the NEUM, 3 had had strong links with the BCM and at present 8 would align themselves with the UDF, and 3 with CAL/BC, while 1 is no longer involved in political organisation.

72 The background to (A)FCWU is given in *Work In Progress* no. 22 1982, while the history of GWU is given in a paper by Johan Maree 'Democracy and Oligarchy in the Independent Trade Unions in the Transvaal and the WPGWU in the 1970s' in *Social Dynamics* 1982

73 David Lewis 'Trade Unions and Class Stratification: A preliminary analysis of the role of working class organisations in the Western Cape' in H. W. van der Merwe et al 1976 *Occupational and Social Change among Coloured People in South Africa*; Cape Town Juta and Co.

74 For example in *WIP, Social Review, SASPU Focus, South African Labour Bulletin*, and *Grassroots*

75 David Hemson 'Trade unionism and the struggle for liberation in South Africa' in *Capital And Class* 1978

76 For example, *SASPU Focus* vol. 2 no. 1 June 1983 'In a class of their own' p. 18; WIP no. 12 April 1980

'Consumer boycotts: an assessment'.

77 For example, WIP no. 25 1983 'Stayaways: mass strike or demonstration?'; WIP no. 26 1983 'Stayaways: Soweto 1976'; WIP NO. 19 1981 'The support alliance: trade unions and community'.

78 WIP no. 30 1984 'Lekota on the UDF'; *WIP* no. 32 'Unions and the UDF'; *WIP* no. 33 1984 'MAWU and UMMAWUSA fight for factories'; 'FOSATU will not join the UDF' *Cape Times* 20/10/83.

79 This is described by Liz Mc Gregor 'The Fattis and Monis strike' in *SALB* March 1980

80 This is discussed in WIP no. 13, also in *SALB* vol. 6 no. 5, and *Grassroots* Oct. 1980

81 *Ibid*

82 *SALB Ibid*

83 *Grassroots op. cit.*

84 Interview with Rev. Des Adendorf, the director of two of the organisations involved (15/8/84).

85 This is discussed in Maree *op. cit.*; NUSAS 1980 *The Union is Strength: The Resurgence of Black Trade Unionism in The 1970s* Cape Town:NU.S.A.S; *SASPU National* no. 9 Dec. 1981, and no. 7 Sept. 1981 also in Rob Davies, Dan O'Meara and Sipho Dlamini 1984 *The Struggle For South Africa* Vol. Two London: ZED Press.

86 Lodge *op. cit.*

87 For example in WIP no. 29, an interview with Dave Lewis.

88 *Ibid*, also see WIP no. 34 1984 'Debating alliance politics'.

89 See Peter Walshe 1983 *Church Versus State Ii South Africa. The Case of the Christian Institute* London: C. Hurst and Co.

90 *Ibid*

91 The seven interviewees were involved in various church organisations during the 1970s.

92 *Op. cit. No. 53*

93 Lodge *op. cit.*

94 Hirson p. 84 *op. cit.*

95 Cyril Couve 'The psychologist and black consciousness in South Africa: The work of N. C. Manganyi' a Centre for African Studies Seminar Paper U.C.T. 5 Sept. 1984

96 It is not proposed that there is any direct link between the past Africanist formulations and the BC. Lodge *op. cit.* has shown the misleading nature of attempts to force the link between BC and its precursors.

97 Gerhart *op. cit.*

98 Mary Simons U.C.T. reminded me of this fact.

99 Steve Biko 1978 *I Write What I Like* London: Heinemann

100 Barney Pityana 'Power and social change in South Africa' in H. W. van der Merwe and David Welsh ed. 1972 *Student Perspectives on South Africa* Cape Town: David Philip

101 Couve p. 9 *op. cit.*

102 Richard Turner 1980 *The Eye of the Needle: Towards Participatory Democracy in South Africa* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

103 Biko p. 28 *op. cit.*

104 See SPROCAS Directories 1974

105 David Poyntan, an Anglican Education Officer went to Illich's centre at Cuernavaca, Mexico; Anne Hope, a church worker spent time with Paulo Freire. Both were influential in spreading these ideas. Tony Morphet gave me this information.

106. Adrienne Bird 'The adult night school movements for blacks on the Witwatersrand 1920-1980' in Kallaway *op. cit.*

107 Interview *op. cit.* No. 81

108 Albert Nolan 1982 *Biblical Spirituality* Springs,

363

364

SA: Order of Preachers (Southern Africa)

109 See for example articles in *South African Outlook* Vol. 110 Sept. 1980, by Nolan, Goba and Boesak.

110 In a study in Soweto by Philip Frankel 'Status, group consciousness and political participation:Black consciousness in Soweto', presented to the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand, on 3-7 February 1978, it was found that a high percentage of respondents had been influenced by BC.

111 See Mildred Poswa 'Black Consciousness: A reactionary tendency' Jan. 1982 printed by *The Educational Journal*. One of the interviewees who was actively involved in SPEF at the time mentioned that this document seemed to reflect the general NEUM feelings concerning the BCM.

112 The influence of Turner's work on the BCM is discussed by Tony Morphet in the introduction to Turner's book. Turner's influence was also mentioned in an interview with a former CI worker on 13/12/84. The interviewee, Jim Cochrane, believed that the impact of Turner's work on those in the CI had been significant.

113 Andrew Nash 'History and Consciousness in South Africa today: An essay on the political thought of Richard Turner'An unpublished working paper 1984. He argues that Turner's work is still influencial today.

114 *Ibid*

115 Tony Morphet in the introduction to Turner *op. cit.*

116 Turner helped to establish the Institute for Industrial Education and the South African Labour Bulletin, see SALB vol. 9 no. 8 July 1984

117 Turner *op. cit.* p. 87

118 Nash *op. cit.* p. 19

119 *Ibid* p. 12

120 See Lodge *op. cit.*

121 See Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini *op. cit.*

122 *Ibid* p. 284

123 Oliver Tambo, in an interview in June 1982, said that a new phase would permit 'more direct confrontation with the enemy forces', *ibid* p. 284

124 Black Sash is a protest organisation of white, middle class women, which was started in the 1950s. A history of the organisation has been written by Cherry Michelman 1975 *The Black Sash of South Africa: A Case Study in Liberalism* Publ. for the SAIRR by the OUP

122 The Mandela Plan is explained in Lodge *op. cit.* , and concerns the formation of tight organisational structures on the street and neighbourhood levels.

123 Discussions of the Freedom Charter and it genesis have been held in several community organisations, and in *Grassroots* Jan. 1985, the story is retold. Lodge *op. cit.* questions just how much participation their actually was in the final drafting of the document.

124 Interview with an ex-NEUM affiliate member (29/1/85)

125 Lodge *op. cit.* gives the numbers of students who crossed the borders to join the liberation army as in the thousands p. 339

126 Matthew Francis 'The past is theirs, the future is ours A study of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape' A paper presented for B. A. Hons. at UWC Nov. 1984

127 Montsitsi in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.* makes this point.

128 See Bloch, Webster and van den Heerden in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*

129 AZAPO was formed in 1979: it was an important contributor to the National Forum in June 1983, see National Forum 1983; a discussion of a recent AZAPO conference is in *WIP* no. 30 1984.

130 This point is made by Paahla in NUSAS 1983 *op.*

cit.

131 Montsitsi makes this point in NUSAS 1983 *op. cit.*

132 In a discussion with a lecturer in the Dept. of Social Work at UWC, it was stated that the numbers of trained, coloured, social workers increased dramatically during the 1970s.

133 The work of community workers is described in FSD Annual Reports from 1977; also in Edna van Harte 1977 *The Involvement of UWC Students in Community Work* Bellville: Institute for Social Development.

134 Cole *op. cit.*

135 This argument is put in an article in *WIP* no. 18 June 1981, 'Legalism and democratic organisation'.

136 A critique was done of outsiders involvement in squatter struggles in *NYANGA BUSH op. cit.*

137 See *WIP* no. 11 1980 and WIP no. 15.

138 Manuel *op. cit.*

139 See Donald Frank Molteno's study 'The schooling of black South Africans and the 1980 Cape Town students' boycott: a sociological interpretation' April 1983 M. Soc. Sc. Thesis U.C.T.

140. See Rommel Roberts 'Bus boycotts 1980' in A. Paul Hare 1983 *The Struggle for Democracy in South Africa* Cape Town: Centre for Intergroup Studies.

141 See *SASPU National*

142 See for example SASPU, *State of the Nation* Aug. 1982 p. 12

143 Molteno *op. cit.* p. 199

144 COSAS history is given in *Grassroots* June 1982.

145 This is discussed in *Social Review* Issue 16 Nov. 1981

146 *Grassroots* AGM 1982

147 *Grassroots* April 1982 p. 14

148 *Ibid* p. 11

149 *Grassroots* June 1983 p. 13

150 *Grassroots* Oct. and Nov. 1981

151 This point was discussion at *Grassroots* AGM in 1984, and in several other organisations at the time.

152 B. Kinkead-Weekes 'A history of local resistance to Apartheid in the period 1948-1960' presented at a workshop convened by the Centre for African Studies and the Centre for Research in Africa at UWC, makes this point.

153 Francis *op. cit.*

154 *Ibid*

155 *Ibid*

156 Cape Federation of Cape Civics pamphlet May 1983

157 Francis *op. cit.*; also confirmed in interviews with two people who participated in the DBAC at one stage the secretary lost the minutes, there was also on occasion a lack of clarity as to whom was to chair the meetings.

158 See *Solidarity* the CAL newsletter, and *National Forum* 1983.

159 CASA refers to a conference 'Culture in apartheid South Africa' held in Holland in 1987.

160 Community Arts Project (CAP) 'People's Culture and the Struggle for liberation'. 1987. Unpublished.

161 *Argus*, 5 August 1989, p. 6. MDM is defined as a loose grouping of people which had coalesced in a more structured and cohesive form and recognised as a specific alliance of organisations with COSATU and the UDF at the core.

162 The National Sports Congress (NSC) is a pressure group which was established within the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) to challenge the latter's policies and strategies.

163 Walters, S. 'Response to the article on the role of service organisations by some members of Lacom', in *SALB*, Vol. 12, No. 8. June/July 1988.

164 The three are Health Workers Advice Office, Health Workers Union and Health Workers Association which became the South African Health Workers Congress - Western Cape Region.

165 Some of the strategies that have been debated relate to the 'participation debate' which raises questions about participating in state structures and forming alliances with parliamentary groups.

166 The development of co-ops is discussed in Georgina Jaffee's *Building Worker Co-ooperatives in South Africa*, LERC, Johannesburg.

167 These are the Unemployed Workers Movement, National Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee-Western Cape Region and Unemployed Workers Union.

168 Community House is an office block in Salt River where several community organisations and unions rent offices.

169 Swilling, M and Phillips, M. *The Politics of State Power in the 1980s* Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. July 1988; Boraine, A. *Wham, Sham or Scam? - Security Management, Upgrading and Resistance in a South African Township*. Economic History, University of Cape Town (Honours dissertation). August 1988; Glaser, D. 'Ruling groups and Reform in the mid-1980s' in *South African Review 4*, p. 383. Edited by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1987; Cobbett, W and Cohen, R. *Popular Struggles in South Africa*. Africa World Press. 1988; Friedman, S. 'The Struggle within the Struggle: South African Resistance Strategies' in *Transformation* No. 3, p. 58 1987; Sarakinsky, I. 'The State of the state and the state of resistance' in *Work in Progress* No. 52, p. 47; Lodge, T. 'State power and the politics of resistance' in *Work in Progress* No. 50, p. 3; Kaplan, D. 'Beyond the Indicators: A Perspective on the South African Economy' in *South African Review* 4, p. 524. Edited by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987; Gelb, S. 'Making Sense of the Crisis' in *Transformation* No. 5, p. 33 1987; Innes, D. 'An overview of the 1980s'. Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand. Presented at the Kenton Conference, October 1988.

170 Innes, D. *ibid.*

171 Innes, D. 'Privatisation: The Solution?' in *South African Review* 4, p. 551. Edited by Glen Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

172 Budlender, Debbie. *Assessing US Corporate Disinvestment - The CASE Report for the Equal Opportunity Foundation*. CASE 1989; Sinclair, Michael and Julia Weinstein, *American Philanthropy*. Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1988.

173 Wilson, F and Ramphele, M. *Uprooting poverty - The South African challenge*. p. 26. David Phillip, 1989. This graph only covers the period up to 1985.

174 Swilling, M and Phillips, M. 'The Politics of State Power in the 1980s', p. 12, Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. July 1988.

175 This is described in 'Inside the system's nerve centre' in the *New Era*, p. 15, November 1988.

176 *Grassroots*, October 1986, p. 3.

177 Swilling, M and Phillips, M. *op. cit. p. 25.*

178 *Ibid.*

179 du Toit, P. 'Regional Sevices Councils: Control at Local Government Level' in *Government by the People?*, edited by C. Heymans and G. Totemeyer, p. 63. Juta and Co. Ltd 1988.

180 Swilling, *op. cit.* p. 19.

181 Swilling, M. 'City Politics comes of age: Strategic responses to Local Government restructuring'. Centre for Policy Studies, University of Witwatersrand, p. 1, June 1988.

182 *Cape Times* 28 October 1988.

183 Scharf, W. 'People's Justice', *Sash* p. 19 March 1988.

184 Indicator Project. *Political Conflict in South Africa - Date Trends 1984 - 1988.*

185 Plaut, M. 'The Political Significance of COSATU' in *Transformation* No. 2 p. 62 1986.

186 *Weekly Mail* 14 April 1989 to 20 April 1989, p. 34.

187 'Trends and Developments in Organised Labour' in *South African Review* 4, p. 231.

188 *South* 20 December 1988 to 18 January 1989, p. 6

189 'The African National Congress after Kabwe' in *South African Review* 4, p. 12. Edited by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1987.

190 An example is the ANC international conference entitled 'The World United Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa' held in Arusha, Tanzania on 1-4 December 1987. It was attended by delegates from several countries as well as from South Africa.

191 The establishment of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in 1989 is an example of a project which aims to explore policy in a post-apartheid society.

192 *Weekly Mail*, 17 February to 23 February 1989, p. 34.

192 Webster, D. and Friedman, M. 'Repression and the State of Emergency June 1987 - March 1989', p. 17. Southern African Research Service and Ravan Press, 1989. Paper published in memory of David Webster who died on 1 May 1989.

194 Fine, A. 'Trends and Developments in Organised Labour' in *South African Review* 4 p. 220. Edited by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan press, Johannesburg.

195 Webster *op. cit.*, p. 20.

196 *Cape Times*, 7 January 1988.

197 'Repression and the State of Emergency' in *South African Review* 4, p. 142.

198 An international conference on Children, Repression and the Law in an Apartheid South Africa was held in Harare, from 24-27 September 1987. See General Conference Working Paper, entitled 'Apartheid's violence against children'.

199 *South* 20 December 1988 to 18 January 1989, p. 6.

200 Yembe, J. In defence of the Anti-Apartheid Conference in *South African Labour Bulletin*, Vol 13 No. 8 p. 16. This conference has been rescheduled to take place in October 1989.

201 *Weekly Mail* 23 December 1988 to 12 January 1989, p. 24

202 Webster *op. cit.*, p. 31.

203 Thomas, W. 'Economic growth prospects in the Western Cape' p. 4, March 1988. Written for Intercom, the economic newsletter of Ogilvy and Mather, Rightford Searle-Tripp and Makin.

204 Prinsloo, J. 'Cape Town - Crisis City? Challenges and Opportunities', p. 6, January 1989. Presented at a Summer School programme convened by the Dept. of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, UCT.

205 Gentle, R and Romanovski, P. 'Whither Western Cape Urbanisation' p. 4. Undated.

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207 *Ibid.*

208 TB is considered a disease related to poor socio-economic conditions. The figures came from Anonymous. Cape Town 1976 - 1985, p. 1. Undated. .

209 *Argus*, 8 August 1988.

210 *Argus* 10 August 1988.

211 *Op. cit. No. 175, p. 15.*

212 *Grassroots*, October 1986, p. 3.

213 *Op. cit.* No. 175, p. 15.

214 *Grassroots*, p. 3, October 1986.

215 *Grassroots*, December 1986.

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217 Cole, Josette. *Crossroads - The politics of reform and repression 1976-1986.* Ravan Press 1987.

218 *Weekly Mail*, p. 13, 19 December to 8 January 1987.

219 Cooper, Diane. 'Report on problems that arise in crisis intervention work and possible ways of resolving these problems using organisations' role in the Crossroads crisis of 1986 as a case study'. June 1988.

220 *Ibid.*

221 *Argus* 8 February 1988.

222 *Grassroots*, September 1985.

223 *Weekly Mail*, p. 3, December - 26 December 1985.

224 *Grassroots* October 1985.

225 *Op. cit.*, No. 223.

226 *Op. cit.* No 224.

227 Examples are the Federation of Parent-Teacher-Student Associations - Western Cape; the Inter-Schools Co-ordinating Committee (ISCC); and the Western Cape Student Action Committee (WECSAC).

228 *Grassroots* December 1985.

229 *Op. cit.*, No. 223.

230 Muller, J. 'People's Education and the national Education Crisis Committee' in *South African Review* 4, p. 22. Edited by Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery, Ravan Press, Johannesburg. 1987.

231 *Ibid.* For a discussion on People's Education, see *Peoples Education. A collection of articles from December 1985-May 1987.* Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape 1987; *Peoples Education: An examination of the Concept*, by Glenda Kruss. Centre for Adult and Continuing Education, University of the Western Cape 1988.

232 Bloch, G. 'Organisation as Education: The Struggle in the Western Cape schools 1986-1988', p. 5. Paper presented at the Kenton conference, October 1988.

233 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

234 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

235 *Grassroots* Vol. 7 No. 2 March 1986.

236 Trials, commonly known as the 'Ashley Kriel' and the 'Yengeni' trials are examples of 2 major trials in Cape Town. The Yengeni trial is currently in progress.

237 *Argus*, 1 May 1986.

238 *Grassroots* Vol. 7 No. 2 1986.

239 Because of the levels of repression and the State of Emergency, it is not possible or wise from a state security viewpoint to discuss these aspects of organisation in any detail. The points that are made here are based on 15 interviews with activists during 1988 and from CACE's own involvement in organisational activity.

240 Popular term which refers to a withdrawal from public life to avoid detention.

241 A new kind of war in *New Era*, p. 14 April 1987.

242 *Isizwe*. Journal of the United Democratic Front. Vol. 2 No. 1 p. 16 September 1987.

243 The establishment of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) is an example of a project which explores policy in a post-apartheid society.

244 Examples are the 'People's Education For Teachers' held in October 1987 and the 'People's Culture Symposium' held in 1986. Both were held at the University of the Western Cape.

245 *Argus* 26 October 1988.

246 Interview with CAYCO activist d.d 28 July 1988.

247 Examples are the services and courses offered by the Community Development Resource Agency (CDRA) and the 2 year part-time courses offered by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) for adult educators working within trade union and community organisations.

248 See note 247. In addition, the Community Arts Project (CAP) has during the last three years started to offer three different training courses for cultural workers over 1, 2 or 3 years.

249 In November 1989 a conference is being organised by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) and the Centre for Development Studies(CDS) in conjunction with several other community organisations to analyse 'the context of the 1980s in order to project and plan for the 1990s'.

250 Hobsbawm, E. 'Intellectuals and the Labour Movement' in *Marxism Today*, p. 220 July 1979.

OTHER CACE PUBLICATIONS

People's Education in South Africa: Examination of the Concept

Education and Democracy within Community Organisations: Conference Report

The Struggle for Democracy: A Case Study of one Community Organisation

People's Education: A Collection of Articles from December 1985 to May 1987

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